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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to identify and document processes that are associated with effective desegregation in six school districts enumerated below; to examine the interrelationships of these processes; and to identify commonalities among the six districts which could provide guidelines for models of effective school desegregation. The major question addressed by the study is what the major status and process variables associated with progress toward ethnic desegregation in the public schools are. The six case study districts are: Birmingham, Durham, Ewing, Goldsboro, Minneapolis, and Orangeburg. The introduction addresses the following topics: background and significance of the study, definitions, procedures, criteria for selecting school districts, site selection, preparation for site visits, and debriefing. A section on methodological considerations examines methodological problems involved in the descriptive case study approach to research in the area of desegregation. These are sampling, documentation analysis, and generalization--areas for which existing research and evaluation methods are seen as not providing answers. Summaries of the case studies for the six cities form the conclusion of the study. (Author/AM)

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FINAL REPORT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

In the twenty years that have passed since the 1954 Supreme Court decision concerning desgregation in public schools there has been a proliferation of research related to desegregation. These many studies have tended to emphasize the outcomes of desegregation. Fairly consistently they have dealt with academic achievement as the primary indicator of the effectiveness of the desegregation process. Generally, this research has addressed the occurrence of desegregation. That is, that an administrative decision has been made and efforts to implement those decisions have been pursued. Little of that research has dealt with the process variables of desegregation descriptions of the context in which these processes occur.

The purpose of this study was to identify and document processes that are associated with effective desegregation in six school districts; to examine the interrelationships of these processes; and to identify commonalities among the six districts which could provide guidelines for models of effective school desegregation. The major question addressed by the study was: "What are the major status and process variables associated with progress toward ethnic desegregation in the public schools?"

Background and Significance of the Study

Over the past two decades school desegregation has profoundly influenced the existence and operation of numerous public schools, especially in southern and border states. School districts, in varying degrees, have grappled with the problem since the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions which held that segregation of students by race in the public schools violates the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that dual school systems should be disestablished "with all deliberate speed."

These decisions, and subsequent ones, have affected the equilibrium of many segments of the public threatening and, to some extent, changing the status quo. Some school districts chose not to consent to such radical changes as would accompany the desegregation process. They chose to stand still, believing that inertia would solve their dilemma. Or when face-to-face with reality most systems reluctantly complied and a few sought to disengage their operations. Other districts, in the throes of threats and eruptions of violence, as well as other unsettling conditions, yielded quietly with awareness that they could never return to the comfort and simplicity of the past but hoped that the confusion of the present would be short lived.

Until this decade attempts at desegregation were primarily made in rural and smaller districts in southern and border states. However, during the last three years efforts at desegregation have shifted to the urban school districts in the south and other parts of the nation. These attempts have been and will continue to be more complex due to such variables as pseudodemocratic (but accepted) patterns of ethnic interaction, size, historic district lines, and transportation. Recalcitrance, legal rationalization and violence have often, but not exclusively, accompanied the process in the north as well as in the south.

The advent of many of these changes has resulted in numerous hypotheses about school desegregation. There has been an abundance of research produced which focused on the topic. Much of the research has addressed outcome variables, such as achievement. Jablonsky (1973), identified more than one hundred pieces of such research done for dissertations during 1965-1970. A large number of citations in her document deal with outcome variables. A much smaller number of these studies include efforts at describing what happened during the desegregation process. Weinberg (1970), in his more comprehensive review of desegregation research, also verifies the popularity of researching those characteristics of students as they emerge from exposure to and experience with the desegreation process. A review by St. John (1970), which focuses exclusively on the relationships between ethnicity and school achievement, also reflects this emphasis.

This heavy emphasis on the impact of school desegregation on pupil achievement reflects a concern with the validation of the effectiveness of the process rather than a concern with the elucidation of the quality of the process. These earlier studies may have been influenced by a perceived need to justify school desegregation. As the confused nature of the effectiveness data has become more apparent; as desegregation as a solution to the problems of equalization of educational opportunity is increasingly questioned; and as we try to improve the quality with which the strategies of desegregation are applied; the need for understanding the process and the various relationships between elements of the process and differential outcomes has become paramount. The emergence of this need to understand rather than to prove effectiveness underscores the increasing necessity that we seriously look at the situational and process variables which are a part of ethnic desegregation of the public schools.

A focus on situational variables reflects a recognition of the significance of the environmental settings which surround human behavior. In his analysis of the culture of the schools, Sarason (1971) points out that a stage, be it theatrical or educational, has extra-individual structured characteristics that affect the actors even though they are unaware of these characteristics and

and their effects. Sarason's view reflects the ecological theory and methodology developed by Barker (1968), and his associates in their studies of the relationships between environments and behavior. Their work indicated that ecological conditions are a powerful factor in determining the behavior of individual persons. Pettigrew (1970), utilized an ecological approach in A Study of School Integration: Final Report, citing the need to move beyond mere background variables, such as education, religions and occupational status. His study simultaneously used ecological and opinion data to derive a contextual basis for predicting and explaining school desegregation. This concern with contextual or external forces is also reflected in an earlier work by Kenneth Clarke (1953). Clark suggested that individuals and groups modify their behavior only to the degree and in the direction demanded by the external situation as it is perceived. In his article on accountability, Dyer (1970) identified several components of a pupil-change model. Among these components are the educational process, and the conditions which surround this process. He suggests that, "if a school staff is to maximize pupil output in any particular way, it must be aware of the nature of the interactions among the variables in the system and be given sufficient information to cope with them in its work." In addition to this emphasis on context or surrounding conditions, Dyer stresses a concern for understanding the school and its community as functioning social systems. Though Dyer's focus was on accountability rather than on desegregation, it is based on the notion that the school is a social system as well as an educational system. His admonition was that educators and boards of education should know as much as they can about these systems and about the factors that impinge upon students' development, they should use what they know about these factors to maximize pupil development. Obviously, the desegregation process is to produce the effects that are desired by its advocates, it must be accompanied by knowledge of the process mechanism, contextual factors and the systems of which they are components. Hence, it was the purpose of the present study to descriptively document processes, and the context of these processes associated with relatively effective efforts at ethnic desegregation in six selected school districts; and to examine interrelationships among these processes and contexts in order to identify commonalities by which other effective efforts may be designed.

Definition of Terms

Since segregation, integration and desegregation are terms which have colloquial as well as technical usage it is important that definitional reference be given. The definition of these and a few additional terms which are used in this report follow:

Segregation - dualistic social systems that separate races in a way that ascribes a higher status to one in comparison to the other. It was, and is, evident in the dual school system.

Desegregation - the physical mixing of the races without regard to the relative statuses of the two groups.

Integration - the interaction of the races based on mutual respect and equal status among them.

The premise upon which this study is built is that desegregation and integration are two alternatives to segregation. Desegregation is envisioned as the prerequisite, or the necessary forerunner for integration.

From time-to-time additional terms will be referred to that warrant definition.

Integrated School District - a district that has achieved cultural and structural integration of all of its students, students' families and staff.

Effective Integration - a situation in which students and staff are given the opportunity to acquire, and in fact have acquired, knowledge, skills, and behavior patterns necessary to participate in the mainstream of the American Society.

Structural Integration - ...that situation in which staff members, children, and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system that are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups.

Cultural Integration - ... a situation in a school district in which all the children have acquired an understanding and the respect for the history, cultural heritage and contributions of all ethnic groups so that there is a mutual respect and cultural sharing...

Procedures Used in the Present Study

Since this is concerned with the descriptive comparison of relatively effective, integrated educational settings, serious consideration was given to the establishment of criteria that could be used in selecting sites for the study. The design included the study of school districts that were at various stages in the integration process. These districts were located in different geographic regions in the country. Candidate districts came from such sources as state, regional, and university directors of desegregation centers; Title I directors; the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged; the National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity (NCRIEEO) files at Teachers College, Columbia University; and the Exemplary Desegregation Study files at the Educational Testing Service.

The following criteria, which relate to students, staff, parents and instructional settings, served as the basis for selecting school districts:

A. Evidence that majority and minority students and staff were structurally integrated into the social system of the school so that both held status and play roles that were equal in power and prestige.

B. Evidence that racial and cultural isolation had been reduced and was reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and nonacademic activities.

C. Evidence of mutual understanding and positive interaction between majority and minority students and staff.

D. Evidence of curricular offerings and material which reflected cultural diversity.

E. Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

F. Evidence of comprehensive efforts to offer and develop programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

G. Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

Sources of Data for Each Criterion.

A Evidence that majority and minority students and staff are structurally integrated into the social system of the school so both hold statuses and play roles that are equal in power and prestige.

1. Ethnic composition of student body in each school.
2. Ethic composition of the staff in each school.
3. Number of years of experience of individual staff members in each school.
4. Distribution of majority and minority group students in each class.
    a. assignment of students, based on test results, recommendations of teachers, etc.
    b. tracking, curriculum groupings
    c. special classes, i.e., EMR classes, disabled readers classes, composition

d. ethnic distribution in basic versus advanced courses

e. acknowledgement of personal choice for determination of student schedule

5. Discipline

a. existence of uniform and comprehensive codes of conduct for students.

b. evidence that disciplinary actions were uniformly applied

c. evidence that teachers understand and successfully coped with behaviors and life styles of all students

6. Integration of minority group students into organizations and activities of school -- equal participation:

a. school efforts to guarantee adequate representation

b. majority/minority student distribution in school/clubs, athletics, honor societies

c. majority/minority student leadership structure in school clubs, class officers, athletics

7. Patterns of student/student and teacher/student interaction

a. seating patterns in classrooms, cafeteria, library

b. interaction on playgrounds, in corridors

c. friendship patterns inside and outside of school -- socio-metric tests.

d. student/teacher interaction inside and outside classrooms

8. Existence of a philosophy and statement of goals that commit the school to integrated education

B - Evidence that racial/cultural isolation had been reduced and was reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and non-academic activities.

1. Items 1-8 under Criteria A.
2. A sense of fellowship and mutual respect, as demonstrated by staff and student planning, exists.
3. Evidence of avoidance of academic stereotyping.
4. Evidence that teachers had the authority that enabled them to work confidently and flexibly with students of varying abilities and talents.

C - Evidence of mutual understanding and positive interaction between majority and minority students and staff.

1. School atmosphere--staff awareness of the challenges of an integrated student body and the demonstration of understanding and appreciation of the need for academic and other accomplishment.
2. ✓ Student attitudes toward school
    - a. students' feelings about staff, school program, activities, peers and their role in school.
    - b. existence of student protest and conflict.
3. Availability and distribution of counseling and guidance services without regard to race or color.

D - Evidence of curricular offerings and materials reflecting cultural diversity.

1. Evidence of curriculum modification and curricular offerings related to minority experience or to majority/minority relations.
2. Representation of library materials related to the minority experience or by minority group authors.
3. Evidence of varied instructional techniques designed to meet the different learning styles of students.

E - Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

1. Achievement data on students in school.

F - Evidence of comprehensive efforts to develop and offer programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

1. Evidence of use of Title I, ESAP, etc., funds to develop compensatory programs.

2. Evidence of use of resources within and outside the school district to help devise programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

3. Attempts at in-service training aimed at such program development.

G - Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

1. Existence of a citizen's committee, or advisory committee, to assist with desegregation plans.

2. Existence of biracial school committees.

3. Evidence that parents and school community were kept informed about problems and successes in the integration process.

The dynamics which initiated the integration process were not of concern in selecting the six school districts which were studied. Whether the process was initiated by federal, state or other legal action or whether the school district bowed to community pressure, or still yet sought a change in the educational programs and physical makeup of their schools because of some internal dissatisfaction was not an issue. The main concern was how the process was being accomplished in the selected districts.

Site Selection.

School districts that were at varying stages in the integration process were used in the study. The districts were selected from a cross-section of geographic regions in the country and represented urban, suburban and rural characteristics. Large communities (100,000 plus), medium sized (50,000 to 100,000) and small communities (up to 50,000) were selected.

Each candidate district was sent a letter requesting information concerning its attempts at desegregation and inquiring about its interest and availability with regard to participation in the study. Upon receipt of a response from each district, districts which responded favorably were matched against the criteria that had been identified for selection. A visit was made to each potential district participant by the principal investigator to identify possible community contacts. When it was determined, from this visit, and the other collected data, that a district was appropriate for inclusion in the study, arrangements were made for a four or five member data collection team to make a four or five-day information gathering and observational trip to the district.

Preparation for Site Visits.

Consistent with the prescribed method of conducting comprehensive case studies attention was given to detail, planning and execution of the study in each school system. Precautions were taken to avoid the haphazard collection of data and the careless recording of information gathered from a superficial investigation. In order to assure the adequate collection of useful data the data study were collected by a team of individuals including educators, administrators and student research assistants.

In preparation for the visit of the team a senior staff person made a one-day onsite screening visit to gather documentation relating to the school system's attempt to desegregate. Such documentation included the desegregation plan, newspaper reports, administrative reports and additional information, for example, basic demographic data.

A project coordination was appointed for each site. He was responsible for calling the study team together on at least one occasion prior to the onsite visit, to discuss all the anticipatory aspects of the visit. The purposes of the visit and the division of responsibilities, while at the site, were discussed in detail during this session. Each data collector was given a set of materials that included instruments which were used during the investigation and a timetable for each team member to return edited transcripts of interviews, observation data, and other summary materials for discussion. The following is a sample agenda of the briefing sessions for the on-site study teams:

A. Introductions of Team Members

    1. Exchange of Addresses and Telephone Numbers

B. Overview of Site to be Visited

    1. Demographic Information

    2. Description and Chronology of District's Desegregation Plan

    3. Local Newspaper Reports on Desegregation Plans

    4. Administrative Reports to Board

C. Discussion of Research Plan(s)

    1. Timetable for Visit and Reporting

    2. Data to be Collected
    3. Instrumentation to be Used During Visit
    4. Equipment Needs for Visit
    5. Division of Labor
        a. Key Contacts in Community
        b. Procedures for Returning Edited Copy from Observation

D. Discussion of Housekeeping Details
    1. Travel Arrangements (to Site)
    2. Method of Transportation (while at Site)
    3. Motel Arrangements
    4. Submission of Travel Plans, Travel Vouchers

Site Visits.

The site visit was crucial to the success of the study. It was during this time that the crux of the data was collected. Thus, the quality of the study was dependent upon the intensity of involvement of the desegregation study team with school and community persons at the visitation site as well as the adroitness with which assigned tasks were conducted.

Since it was essential that a wide array of coverage be given to the data to be collected, a team of four to five members visited each site. Visits ranged from three to five days depending upon the size of the district, the team's familiarity with that district and the availability of resources which were to be tapped while on the site. It was the responsibility of the principal investigator to determine the number of members on each study team as well as the number of days the team spent in each district.

Each team member had the responsibility of collecting specific data and identifying process variables that affected the school programs, parents, teachers, administrators and students. Team members were requested to assist in contacting and interviewing a cross-section of community persons which included the following:

1. Concerned Parent Groups
2. Director of Social Services
3. Police Chief
4. Newspaper Reporter (assigned to the school district)
5. Human Relations Groups
6. Recreation Directors

7. Government Officials
8. Leaders of Religious Groups

Each site visit began with an introduction of the study team to the Superintendent, or his designate, preferably in his office. During the meeting with the Superintendent the purposes of the site visit were reaffirmed. The project coordinator had, prior to this meeting, secured a roster of the schools in the district and had recommended the schools the study team should visit. No fewer than one-third of the schools in the district were selected and more were visited if time permitted. The factors for selection of specific schools to be visited were: (1) location (2) ethnic composition of staff and student body (3) amount of change that had occurred in the school since desegregation.

The study team went as a group to each school. Upon arriving at each school the team met the principal and established a schedule and set of guidelines to be followed while in that school. The following are samples of proceedures that were used at various grade levels:

Elementary School (Grades K-6)

- Interview the principal

- Interview the vice-principal

- Interview at least four teachers at varying levels, to be recommended by the principal investigator

- Observe at least four classrooms (not the classrooms of the teachers who were interviewed).

Junior High School (Grades 7 - 9)

- Interview the principal

- Interview the vice-principal(s)

- Interview six teachers of varying subjects and levels

- Interview three counselors

- Observe six classrooms of different subjects and different levels of difficulty

- Hold four group interview sessions with forty students - ten students in each (ten all black and ten all white)

- -Administer a Social Belief Inventory and a Student Interview Form to all students in two study halls (classes can be selected if the school does not have study halls).

Senior High School (Grades 10 - 12)

- -Interview the principal
- -Interview the vice-principal(s)
- -Interview six teachers of varying subjects and levels
- -Interview three counselors
- -Observe six classrooms of different subjects and different levels of difficulty
- -Hold group interview sessions with forty students - two groups of blacks with ten each and two groups of whites with ten each
- -Administer a Social Belief Inventory and a Student Interview Form to students in study halls. At least 75 students should be canvassed.

Afternoons and evenings were spent interviewing parents and community persons, individually and in groups. These interviews were arranged, as nearly as possible, prior to the Team's arrival at the site. Names of possible contacts were secured from the Superintendent and from other leads as the study team intermingled with persons in the community. In order to insure adequacy in coverage and consistency in collection of data each investigator was asked to use, at a minimum, the instruments that appear in the Appendix. The extent of usage was determined in the briefing sessions which preceded each on-site visit.

Debriefing.

The project coordinator was responsible for synthesizing the collected data and impressions once the onsite visit had been made. This person was ultimately responsible for drafting the completed report.

An essential role played by the project coordinator was that of assembling the study team for the purposes of collectively analyzing the data from each school district to determine the key process variables that were found to be associated with quality integrated education. The interrelationships of these variables and the way they were linked to resultant school programs were examined in debriefing meetings. Patterns of variables in districts where effective work was occuring were identified and comparisons were made where patterns appeared to be associated with particular situations. Comparisons were made to yield a view of programs serving comparable communities. Comparisons were also made of the characteristics of the school programs and student and staff experiences which emerge under varying conditions. The final report was written, based on these team interactions, defriefing sessions and an overview of case study materials.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is probably not by accident that the descriptive case study approach to research in the area of desegregation has been avoided. There are a number of methodological problems for which existing research and evaluation techniques fail to provide answers. These problems are essentially, sampling, documentation, analysis, and generalization.

Sampling

The problems in sampling, or case selection, derive from the fact that case studies are less concerned with being representative of a population of programs or events and are more concerned with being representative of a particular program. In this study, we did not seek to choose school districts that, collectively, would accurately represent the status of school desegregation in the United States. Rather, an effort was made to select school districts which were in the process of conducting effective or promising programs in school desegregation. This process of selection was heavily dependent on information available to us and the biases of the informants to whom we turned for nomination of programs. While it is likely that through the utilization of our rather extensive files and the dependence on the personal knowledge of "experts" in the field we accurately identified those districts that had developed worthwhile and effective desegregation programs, it is always possible, using this strategy, that isolated and unheralded programs go unattended.

In future research one aspect of this sampling problem could be tackled by simply increasing the magnitude of the study to insure that a large enough sample of cases is selected to provide for statistical representativeness. However, there may be a more difficult problem here, that is that the purposes to be served by the case study approach may be incompatible with the traditional standards for determining statistical representativeness. Since the case study is designed to be sensitive to unique characteristics and circumstances it may be inappropriate to require that it also address problems of "average", mean or modal conditions. Some investigators, tackling this problem have sought to deal with the problem separately by conducting surveys of large randomly selected samples directed at addressing questions related to mean or modal conditions. And then, the case studies approach has been utilized, not to be representative of that universe, but to illustrate specific characteristics and particular circumstances unique to programs in that universe. The study reported here has not included the broad survey approach but has sought, in a highly selected, small sample of a universe, to describe programs considered to be unique - interesting or particularly successful.

Documentation

Documentation is concerned with the accurate and adequate description of the elements and processes involved in programs under study. The problem here is again one of selection and objectivity. Since the documentation process is dependent upon observers. we are in large measure victims of the subjectivity of the persons chosen to observe. To reduce this influence in this study, attention was given to structuring the kinds of things observers were to observe, the people to whom they were to talk, and the circumstances to which they were to be sensitive. These efforts at structuring interviews and observations may have contributed more to the uniformity of the information collected, however, than to the elimination of subjectivity. Again, in a repeat of a similar study, by increasing the number of observers, by giving increased attention to observer training, and not -- through more careful analysis and comparisons of observer reports to search out consistencies and inconsistencies, it may be possible to increase the degree of objectivity brought to the documentation process. However, in the search for objectivity one does not want to loose the intuitive insights that are largely the function of subjectivity. Since the case study approach is designed to try to capture, not only fact but also meaning and purpose, complete objectivity may be counter productive. The second problem, however, is that even if we were able to achieve a high degree of observer objectivity there are differences between the realities of circumstances and events and the subjective perceptions of these events by those persons participating in the study as informants. In a study like this one where we are as much concerned with the reality of events as we are with the impact of and attitudes toward these events what is missed in the observer approach to documentation is the distinction between the reality of circumstances and participant's view and interpretation of these circumstances we seek to objectively record.

A third problem having to do with documentation relates to the selection of material to be recorded. Again, we are dependent upon observers but also are very much limited by the restraints that resources and time place upon the documentation process. The programs that we have studied are on-going programs some of which involve processes which play themselves out over months and years, yet our observation and efforts at documentation are limited to one visit by the project coordinator and a three to five day visit by the study team. This strategy is heavily dependent upon the assumption that those events we were able to observe and become familiar with, through brief interviews and observations, are reasonably representative of the nature of the continuing program. Again, a more appropriate, useful and productive approach to documentation might be the placement in schools of several "participant observers" who are continually involved with the programs and with the process of observation. However, this presents an additional persistent problem in the case study approach: the contribution that observational and documentation themselves make to the change of a program. It is impossible to place people in a dynamic situation, either on a short term or long term basis and assume that they have no impact on the situation. It is inappropriate to assume that their mere presence does not in some way bias the activity, feelings and reactions of people. These problems have not been adequately solved in documentation research and have not been addressed in this study. What we have are reports of reasonably conscious field observers who sought to record the contemporary status of the programs they observed and through retrospective analysis to generate a reasonably accurate picture of the process by which these programs reached their current status.

Analysis

The analysis component of the documentation and analysis paradigm is a relatively neglected strategy in field research. The task of course is to attempt to generate, from descriptive material, some concepts of and understanding of what has in fact occurred. Much of the traditional work in this area has been approached fairly informally, as is the strategy used to date in this study. However, increasingly investigators are utilizing theoretical constructs which guide documentation and analysis in efforts at using the data derived from observation to illustrate these concepts. These concepts are then used to explain the evidence gained through observation. If our current efforts at studying the way in which school districts have responded to problems of ethnic diversity are continued, future efforts at documentation and analysis will be organized around concepts which may be developed based on the combination of the findings generated from these pilot studies and the trends that may be identified in other desegregation research. In the study, as reported, the efforts at analysis are primarily the product of staff debriefing and brainstorming sessions in which persons intimately familiar with the data on the six school districts studied sought to generate concepts by which their observations could be categorized or conceptions of processes that were common to several districts. The goal of analysis, in this study, was to generate guidelines by which future practice could be influenced rather than developing new theoretical constructs by which the current state of practice in this field can be explained.

In addition to these problems that are peculiar to the case study approach itself there were operational problems that were encountered in the course of this study which should be taken into account. A reference has been made to the subjective bias of interviewers. It is important also, as aforementioned, to discuss the problems related to the subjective bias of persons being interviewed. Obviously, as these case studies are read one needs to bear in mind that although we sought to interview a variety of persons in each setting and to reconcile differences between these interviewees by representing varied opinions, they do, nonetheless represent the biases, opinions and impressions of the persons encountered in the process of our observations.

Another operational problem has to do with consistency and and specificity of the data. Since the school districts studied were selected because they primarily had features of their program that were of interest to us, or because they were noted to be particularly outstanding and not because of their having met any systematic criteria with respect to data pool, we encountered districts which varied greatly with respect to the nature of the data available. Some districts had kept exceptionally detailed records of developments so far. Some districts had devoted the time of their research and evaluation staff to studying and recording developments. Other districts had been primarily concerned with getting the job done and had considerably less complete records. As a result, the data base, utilized in preparation of case studies, lacked both consistency and specificity across districts.

A third problem encountered had to do with the variations in the circumstances under which desegregation was initiated, the timing of these processes and the status of the processes at the time studied. In some instances we were observing voluntary desegregation programs in other court ordered processes. In some cases the programs we observed were less than two years old, in other instances programs had been in operation three or four years. This lack of consistency obviously present problems in interpreting the data and in generalizing across school districts. But, it also contributes to the richness of the study in that the variety of circumstances under which the process has proceeded contributes to our appreciation of the complicated nature of any major organizational and value change in a social system.

Despite these and other methodological problems it is still clear that if one is to understand school system changes like those involved in ethnic desegregation and ethnic integration in schools it is still clear that impact and status studies that have dominated this field are less useful than studies that are more sensitive to process. What has been attempted here is to disregard for the moment, an examination of outcomes as reflected in pupil achievement and to concentrate on a description of what people and organizations are doing, what they feel about what they are doing, and what appear to be the situational concomitants of the processes through which they move or function. This study, which was funded as a pilot study, should be built upon, redesigned and continued. Since, it is likely that from a larger number of carefully conducted efforts at documentation of developments in this field we can direct systematic efforts at generating new knowledge concerning the dynamics of institutional change as well as understanding attitudinal and behavior change of the members of those institutions.

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DESEGREGATION IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

A CASE STUDY

Data Collected by
Desegregation Study Team
Including:

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PREFACE

In May, 1974, a five member study team from Teachers College, Columbia University spent four and one-half days in Birmingham, Alabama for the purposes of (1) collecting information that describes the desegregation process as it evolved, (2) interviewing principals, administrators, teachers, students and community leaders relative to their impressions of the desegregation move and its impact, and observing random classrooms, hallways, cafeterias and playgrounds at twelve selected schools.

Given our time constraints and budgetary limitations we systematically chose twelve schools from the more than ninety that serve the young people of Birmingham. Our sample included schools (1) with an almost equal distribution of Black and White students, (2) those having both a sixty percent Black and White population, (3) those having almost an eighty percent Black and White enrollment, and (4) those that had all Black students and several having an almost all White student body. Thus, our sample allowed us to view a microcosm of the Birmingham school system.

We extend our gratitude to all school personnel, students and community people who graciously gave us a part of their time. Special thanks are extended to Superintendent Cody who gave us permission to come to Birmingham, to Dr. Matherson who coordinated our work and paved the way for our kind of reception, and to Dr. Goodson who spent the four and one-half days with us providing transportation, introducing us and keeping us on a rigid schedule.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Description of Town and Demographic Data[1]

In the 1840's iron ore, coal and limestone were found in a midlands region of Alabama called Jones Valley. By 1860 plans had been made to intersect a railway connection in this valley between Chattanooga in the North and Montgomery in the South in order to exploit these vast mineral deposits. The Civil War broke out and delayed these railway ties until 1870. A year later the area surrounding this junction was purchased by a private corporation, the Elyton Land Company. Plots were established and put up for auction. Additional spaces were reserved for churches, parks and streets. The Land Company also decreed that the city to be built would be called Birmingham in honor of "the best workshop in all of England."

In December, 1871, the city received its charter and was inhabited by approximately 1,000 people. During the succeeding 100 years its population has grown to more than 300,000 and has come to be recognized as a major industrial and medical center of the South.

When one thinks historically of Birmingham thoughts of slavery, inhumane actions against Blacks, police dogs, fire hoses, civil rights marches, and the bombing of a church in 1962 where four little Black girls were killed are evoked. It is the city that the late Rev. Dr. Martin King, Jr. called "the most segregated city in America."[2] These events happened, and are truths of Birmingham's past.

One can easily advance the opinion that the treatment of Black citizens up through the mid-nineteen sixties was directly related to the sentiments expressed by a majority of the community and the political leadership. It is more difficult to speculate about the internal feelings and attitudes of the general populace at present - it is conceivable that these old attitudes persist with many - but a brief description of Birmingham's demography and political leadership over the past ten years suggests that in relation to its past it no longer deserves the reputation it gained in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

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[1] The data included in this section are primarily taken from reprints of articles appearing in the March 28, 1972, edition of the New York Times, the June 10, 1972, edition of the Birmingham Post, Birmingham, England and from an information packet compiled by Dr. W.C. Matherson of the City School System.

[2] The New York Times, March 28, 1972.

Perhaps the turning point in the minds of the people was prompted by 1962 church bombing. For by 1967 the first Republican mayor ever was elected. By 1971 two Black men had been elected to the city council as well as a White female and two White male liberals. Since that time the governing body of the city has been composed of a moderate-liberal majority. One of the first acts performed by this new body was to appoint the city's first Black judge. A Black and White group of leaders was formed into a community affairs committee. They are credited for eliminating the dual lines of progression for Blacks and Whites in the steel industry.

The political leadership of Birmingham has done much to improve the living conditions in the city for its citizens and to bring in revenue. This point is viewed as critical since we have witnessed the decay and bankruptcy of many major cities and a number of smaller ones over the past ten years. Quite often problems of White migration to the suburbs and the transition of cities into an ethnic minority and a poor economic population has been hailed as a major factor contributing to this decay, which has consistently been linked to forced integration. In spite of being subjected to similar conditions, Birmingham has achieved a higher level of economy and prestige subsequent to desegregation. This progress is viewed as remarkable when one considers the violent stance taken by the community in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

During the late 50's and early 60's Birmingham was in an economic depression due to progressing automation in the steel industry. By contrast, since the late 1960's, the city "has completed twenty sanitary sewer projects, filled thiry-three open ditches and storm sewers, built three railroad overpasses, installed 8,800 new street lights, torn down 2,173 abandoned dwellings, opened nineteen new recreational facilities,...invested $556,000 in youth activities,...has helped fund the new Metropolitan Development Board, and has begun a rehabilitation program for jailed prisioners."[3] Most of this work was achieved because the voters passed a 50 million dollar bond issue for public improvements in 1968, the largest in the city's history. By 1972 building permits had increased from $52 million in 1968 to $110 million due to outside companies deciding to move or open branches here.

Also in 1972, twenty-three industrial plants were closed because they had contributed to an especially foul period of air pollution. These companies then announced they were undertaking expensive measures to combat pollution.

Recently, several million dollars of construction has been spent in the building of several large hotels and two skyscraper-like office buildings.

Birmingham's prosperity is obvious - the research team flew into a new airport; stayed in a new hotel overlooking the new $35 million civic center; walked along the newly refurbished main street with its wide, grassy, tree and bench lined median while gazing into the beautiful buildings on each side of the street; and drove past 69,000 seat Legion Field, the home of a new professional football team beginning in the fall of 1974.

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[3] Reprint from the Centennial edition of Birmingham Magazine, December, 1971.

Many feel that Birmingham will come to be known as an educational and medical center rather than as a steel town. Presently, the seven higher education institutions are attracting professionals who probably would not have thought of coming here ten years ago. The University of Alabama in Birmingham is becoming a major institution in its own right and presently employs the second largest number of people in the city, U.S. Steel is first. The University Medical Center has come to be known as one of the nation's best in its study and treatment of the heart. Projections suggest then when this center is expanded it will be the most prestigious of its kind in the country.

Back in 1972 the University of Alabama in Birmingham, with only a ten percent Black enrollment, elected a Black student as its president. During the week of our field study Alabama State University, a predominantly Black school, conferred honorary doctorates on both Ralph Abernathy and Governor Wallace at their commencement exercises.

Although Birmingham's future seems bright, it acknowledges that there are problems yet to be dealt with. Some priorities include: a more professional police force, increased measures for public safety, and a natural expansion of city limits. Birmingham has experienced a flight to the suburbs by White citizens; by 1972 the city population had decreased by 40,000. Much of the land surrounding the city limits is owned by the steel industries and they have been instrumental in delaying annexation. Were annexation possible, more taxes would be paid by the industries as well as the people living in those areas who would then be required to pay the city's occupational tax. Including Birmingham and its suburbs the population exceeds 700,000.

Because of its racial and cultural progress Birmingham was named an All American City in 1971.

See following inserts for a more comprehensive listing of demographic data relative to census information and public school information.

Description of the School District Prior to Present Desegregation

As desegregation has been in progress since 1963, during which time three plans have been employed, only a brief statement is necessary to describe the school district prior to 1963.

Up to 1962 Birmingham operated a dual school system. That is, all White students went to designated White schools and all Black students attended designated Black schools. The teaching staffs were divided in the same manner. Of course the principals were of the same race as the schools were designated. At the central administrative level there were no Blacks filling a superintendent or assistant superintendent's position. A Black did act as Director of Negro schools. In essence, Birmingham was a house completely divided along racial lines.

Community housing was similarily divided. There were some large areas with Black residents while there were smaller "pockets" of Blacks adjacent to White housing areas. In order to serve both Black and White students separately one might have found a large or regular sized school for Black children in a heavily populated Black residential area. But it was also common to find a small four to six room building put up and staffed by four to six teachers Black "pocket" housing area. Thus, much care was taken to prevent integration of children in public schools.

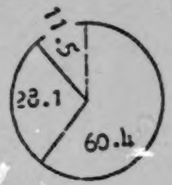
SCHOOL CALENDAR

School begins the last week in August and ends the first week in June. There are 176 total days in the school session. Holidays include: Labor Day, Veterans Day, Thanksgiving, an extended Christmas holiday, AEA convention and Spring Vacation. Report cards are given every six weeks.

FINANCES

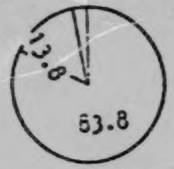
Sources of income:

11.5%	Federal
60.4%	State
28.1%	Local



Expenditures:

83.8%	Instruction
13.8%	Plant Operation & Maintenance
2.4%	Administration



The total income of funds was $31,480,083. The amount of per pupil expenditure was about $503. The total expenditure was $29,924,676. (Estimates)

FEES

Because of a lack of public funds to provide all school needs, a small fee may be charged sufficient to defray the cost of the materials used by the pupil. All first grade textbooks are furnished free of charge. Laboratory fees may be charged in the secondary schools.

All data quoted 1972-73 unless otherwise specified

WHAT YOU CAN DO!

1. Get the facts about your school. Do not rely on rumors. Inquire at your school or the Board of Education.
2. Attend a Board of Education meeting.
3. Support your school staff and school board. Volunteer your services at school or through the P.T.A.
4. Accept your responsibility to provide more local dollars for education and see that monies are spent intelligently. Parents and the community must be willing to pay more to get the kind of schools we need and want. Every dollar we spend is an investment not only in our children but in the future of our community. Support added taxes for the schools.

Know Your Schools

BIRMINGHAM CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Birmingham City School System is the largest of the nine independent school systems located in Jefferson County. It has a total enrollment of 54541 students (Oct. '73), with 36719 in the elementary schools and 18022 in the secondary schools. The first public school was opened for attendance on March 1, 1874. There are ninety schools today of which seventy seven are elementary schools and thirteen are secondary schools.

BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Board of Education was first organized by the adoption of an ordinance dated July 16, 1884. Policies for the schools are set by a Board of Education now consisting of five members appointed for five years on a rotating basis. They are appointed in March by the City Council. The Board of Education meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month, at 3:30 p.m., in the Board Room, Admin. Bldg.

2015 Seventh Avenue N.
Birmingham, Al. 35202
Telephone 323-8521

SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION

The first Superintendent of Schools was appointed in September 1883. To date six superintendents have been appointed. The Superintendent of Education is appointed by the Board of Education who is a nonvoting member. He acts as the secretary of the Board, conducts all correspondence, and administers all Board policies. The Superintendent as of October 1, 1973 is Dr. Wilmer S. Cody.

ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

Elementary: To be eligible for first grade, pupils must be six years old by October 1 of the year they enter. Acceptable record of birth must be presented in order to complete entrance requirements. Although not mandatory, it is suggested that the child also have a general physical examination by a physician. No six year old will be enrolled after the first two weeks of school.

If a child received nine months of first grade instruction in a private school and was six years of age on or before January 1, he is eligible for the advanced standing program and for placement in a second grade class. For further information call 323-8521, Ex.. 245.

Secondary: Pupils coming from an accredited school will be given grade placement according to the credits transferred.

GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS

These are minimum for all students. One unit is equal to two semesters:

English	4 units
Social Studies	3 units
Mathematics	2 units
Science	1 unit
Phy. Ed. (or Band or ROTC)	4 units

There is a choice of instructional programs, and pupils are encouraged to meet with the Pupil Personnel Services Department to discuss the alternatives.

ACCREDITATION

The secondary schools are all accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and by the State of Alabama.

Progress is being made toward the accreditation of the elementary schools at the present time.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

There are 140 full-time teachers who serve those children who cannot function in the classroom because of their special needs resulting from a physical or emotional handicap. There is provision for home instruction in certain instances. In addition, there is a full-time Head Start program and a Title I program.

PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES

The Birmingham City School System provides testing, counseling, vocational guidance, evaluation services, and special placement service for all the pupils. There are 60 teachers from grades one through eight who are fully employed to provide these services to the pupils and their families.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The Birmingham City School System had 20 kindergarten classes on an experimental basis in 1972-73.

It operates a summer school program for remedial as well as accelerated work.

There are four closed circuit channels of Instructional Television.

There are adult programs in session.

COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

Community education is the concept of the extension of the regular school day with a program to serve all the people of the community. There are three community schools in operation, Woodlaw, Avondale and West End, which offer courses and activities to meet the needs of all age groups in the community. For further information call the Woodlawn Center and ask for Jim Felton.

TEACHING STAFF

At the present time the pupil-teacher ratio in the elementary schools is 30 to 1. It is projected that in the school year 1973-74 it will be 28 to 1. In grades nine through twelve the ratio is 22 to 1.

There are sixty guidance teachers whose responsibility is testing, counseling, placement and evaluation of educational programs.

There are special teachers (P.E., reading, art, etc.) in almost every school.

The total number of teachers employed is 2452, of which 1776 hold bachelor's degrees, 628 hold master's degrees and 48 hold AA certificate.

USE OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS

Since providing education for all its pupils is the primary function of the Board of Education, the regular school program will have first claim on the public school facilities at all times. Permission to use school facilities of the Board of Education may be granted to public educational, civic, governmental, or recreational nonprofit organizations under the rules and regulations of the Board.

LUNCHROOM PROGRAMS

Most of the Birmingham public schools have a lunchroom program providing a well-balanced, hot lunch at a low cost. Children may also bring their lunches to school. A written request is necessary if a child goes home to have lunch.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Additional questions or information be referred to the principal or the educational secretary of the school in your neighborhood, or write to the Birmingham Board of Education, P. O. Drawer 1007, Birmingham, Al. 35202.

Birmingham
ALABAMA

POPULATION AND AREA

Population U.S. Census 1970

Birmingham	300,910
Jefferson County	644,991
SMSA	739,274
Rank - Birmingham	47th

Area 1970

Birmingham	80.02 sq. mi.
Jefferson County	1118.0 sq. mi
SMSA	2727.0 sq. mi.

Population Per Square Mile 1970

Birmingham	3760.4
Jefferson County	576.4
SMSA	271.1

Climate

Average Temperature:	
January	46.5°F
July	81.6°F
Average yearly precipitation	53.05 in 1 yr.

CITY POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS 1970

Population per household	2.85
Population under 18	33%
Population over 65	11.7%

Education: 25 years old & over

Median years completed	12.2
Less than 5 years	6.7%
High School or more	44.0%
College Graduates	7.4%

Income: Per Family

Median	$7,737
Under $3,000	16%
Over $10,000	33%

Non-White	1960	1970
% of Total	39.7%	42.0%
Median Family Income	$3,019.00	$5,184.00
% of White median Income	50.2%	56.1%
Under $3,000 Median Income	55%	28%
Unemployment	10%	7.7%

Birmingham

Total Housing Stock 1970	106,977
Public Housing 1972	6,360

Production 1971

Jefferson County Single Family	1,958
Multi-Family	3,017
Total	4,975

TRANSPORTATION 1972

MAJOR STREETS

1972-1977 Project Improvements

Freeways	32 Miles Completed
Major Arterials	101 Miles Completed
Minor Arterials	132 Miles Completed
Grade Separations	55 Miles Completed

Local Bus Transportation

Revenue Passengers 1971	9,133,721
Route Miles 1971	345.9

Intercity Bus Transportation

Number of carriers	3
Scheduled buses daily	168

Motor Freight

Terminals	100
Birmingham Based Freight Lines	25
Average daily truck movements out of local terminals	1,996

Air Lines

Air Lines	4
Enplaned Passengers 1970	493,486
Air Freight tonnage enplaned 1970	3144.1 tons
Average daily flights	112

Presently under construction at the Municipal Airport is 30 Million Dollars in improvements to the terminal including 15 additional passenger gates and a parking deck for 1,500 cars.

Railroads

Major systems	7
Belt and connecting lines	2
Daily Passenger Trains	8
Daily freight trains	140

Water Transportation

Birmingham is connected to the Warrior-Tombigbee Waterway via facilities at Port Birmingham 17 miles to the west of the City.

[illegible]

Terminals

Private	13
Common carrier	1

CITY EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES 1972

Schools

Elementary	77
High Schools	10
Vocational	3
Total City School Enrollment	57741
Public Libraries	17
Bookmobiles	2
Volumes in all public libraries	846,000
Circulation 1971	3,378,978
Circulation per capita	11.2

Colleges and Universities

(Jefferson County)	9
Students	20,531
Faculty	1,396
Business and Technical Schools	14

Private and Parochial Schools

Elementary	18
High Schools	7
Total Enrollment - 1971	5,676

Educational T.V. (Nation's First Network)

WBIQ
WCIQ

PARKS AND RECREATION FACILITIES

City Park System

Number of Parks	77
Acres of Parks	2,381.66
Acres per 100 population	79
Golf courses	4
Tennis courts	52
Recreation centers	12
Swimming pools	14
Vest pocket playgrounds	30
Park budget 1971-1972	$3,089,570

Stadiums and Halls	(Capacity)
Rickwood Field	18,000
Legion Field	69,000
Municipal Auditorium	5,090
Oporto Stadium	10,000
Fair Park Grandstand	9,500
Various Auditoriums and Halls (15)	13,000

Civic Center

Exhibition Hall (completed)	100,000 sq. ft.
Music Hall (under construction)	3,000 seats
Theater (under construction)	1,000 seats
Coliseum (engineering stage)	13,000 seats

Retail Trade

Retail Employees - 1970	42,573
Retail Sales - 1971	$2.07 billion
Retail Trade Area	12,584 sq. miles
Population 1970	1,344,057

Manufacturing

Value of Shipments 1967	$1.9 billion
Employees 1970	66,038
Capital Expenditures 1967	$27.5 million

The area produces approximately 52% of the steel in the south and 60% of all the cast iron pipe in the nation.

Wholesale Trade

Employees - 1970	17,256
Wholesale Market population	7,000,000

Government

Employees - 1970	35,140

The city is the state headquarters for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the regional headquarters for the Social Security Administration.

Communications

Employees - 1971	4,917
Daily Newspapers	2
Weekly Newspapers	7
Postal Receipts - 1971	$18,784,539
Local Telephone Network	416,402 phones
Commercial T.V. Stations	3
A.M. Radio Stations	12
F.M. Radio Stations	6
Telegraph Center Rank	9th in nation

South Central Bell serves their customers in five states from its new headquarters building in downtown Birmingham.

Banking and Finance

Employees - 1970	15,097
Major Banks	10
Branches	76
Resources 1972	$1.8 billion
Debits SMSA 1972	$27.6 billion

Research

The Southern Research Institute, only private scientific research facility to serve industry and government in the southeast, with 315,000 square feet of laboratory space in 12 buildings and a technical staff of nearly 500.

1-9

City Government and the School Board

Before describing the three desegregation plans it is well to describe the structure and organization of the city government and its relation to the school board as each of these bodies played a vital role in the desegregation movement.

Ten years ago there were three commissioners who ran the city. It was during the time of the most violent racial conflicts that these individuals and their system of government began to decline. Leadership changes then began and a new form of government was initiated-municipal government which resulted in a bi-lateral power structure of a mayor and city council. These new leaders were described as social progressives who strived for equal treatment for both races. The current mayor was one of the early members of the city council that decided to open the schools under the first desegregation plan in spite of the ensuing conflicts which were anticipated.

It has been indicated earlier that by 1971 there were two Black males on the city council and a White female. The council appoints school board members to overlapping five year terms. At present there are three White board members and two Black. A Black male is currently serving his second term and a Black female is in her first. Due to the fact that board members are appointed by a progressive city council it is obvious that school board decisions also take on a liberal flavor.

The First and Second Desegregation Plans

The desegregation plan adopted in 1963 was the result of a voluntary action taken by the school board. The table below illustrates the proposed plan to desegregation two grades per year and the number of Black children who attended heretofore white schools. This plan was implemented during the school years 1963-64 to 1966-67.

TABLE 1

Black Students Enrolled in Predominantly White Schools: 1963-64 - 1966-67

		Black Enrollment in White Schools		
School Year	Grades Desegregated	Elementary	Secondary	Total
1963-64	1-12	2	3	5
1964-65	1-11-12	2	7	9
1965-66	1-2-9-10-11-12	7	50	57
1966-67	1-2-3-8-9-10-11-12	115	246	361

Table 2 is a listing, by school, of the number of Black students who entered predominantly White schools from 1963-64 to 1966-67. This table as well as the one above indicates that the movement to desegrate did not receive much impetus until the third year. There was no move to send White students to Black schools.

TABLE 2

NEGROES IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS

1963-64 to 1966-67

High Schools	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67
Banks				2
Ensley		2	13	44
Jones Valley		1	5	67
Phillips		3	10	33
Ramsay	1		13	52
West End	2	1	3	24
Woodlawn			6	24
Total High	3	7	50	246

Elementary Schools	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67
Brown			1	1
Bush				13
Eagan				1
Elyton				14
Graymont	2	2	6	42
Jones Valley Elem.				19
Kennedy				1
Lee				15
McArthur				4
Norwood				1
Powell				2
Pratt				1
Elyton Charlanne PH				1
Total Elem.	2	2	7	115
Grand Total	5	9	57	361

Table 3 is provided to show the percentage of Black students enrolled in predominantly White schools during the 1965-66 and 1966-67 school years. Note that in 1965-66 only .17% of the Black students attended predominantly White schools, 1.05% in 1966-67.

The originally proposed plan for desegregation was nullified by a district court order requiring Birmingham to utilize the "Freedom of Choice Plan" in the 1967-1968 school year. This second plan lasted through the 1969-70 school year.

The court oder decreed that the parents of all students under fifteen years of age and not yet in the ninth grade would be allowed to select the school of their choice for their child to attend. Students in the ninth grade or above and of fiteen years of age could select the school they wished to attend. By this plan no Black or White student was required to select a school of a racial composition other than his own. In addition, no staff were to lose their employment, be discriminatorily reassigned or demoted as a consequence of this court order. Another stipulation required that all schools that remained open would be of equal quality. Periodic reports to the court in order to demonstrate compliance was required of the board of education. (A transcript of this decision is found in Appendix A.) Although no specific instructions were given, the court recommended that staff desegregation begin and that more than one member of the minority race (white or black) be assigned to the newly desegregated faculty.

(See Appendix B for a copy of the Feeedom of Choice form including a listing of all Birmingham schools.)

TABLE 3

Total Enrollment Figures for 1965-66 and 1966-67

Total enrollment White and Black		=	68,121
Enrollment in predominantly White schools		=	34,217
Enrollment in Black schools		=	33,904
	Total	=	68,121
Blacks enrolled in predominantly White schools			57
Blacks enrolled in the system (33,904 + 57) or		=	33,961
% Blacks in predominantly White schools	57 - 33,961	=	.17%

FOR SCHOOL YEAR 1966-1967

Total enrollment White and Black		=	68,023
Enrollment in predominantly White schools		=	33,968
Enrollment in Black schools			34,055
	Total		68,023
Blacks enrolled in predominantly White schools		=	361
Blacks enrolled in the system (34,055 + 361) or		=	34,416
% Blacks in predominantly White schools	361 34,416	=	1.05%

TABLE 4

Black Students Enrolled in Predominantly White Schools During Freedom of Choice Plan

HIGH SCHOOLS	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Banks	8	3	6
Ensley	181	122	110
Glenn	7	19	20
Jones Valley	190	160	140
Phillips	237	461	662
Ramsay	203	222	263
West End	71	72	103
Woodlawn	93	97	115
Homebound	--	8	7
Total High	990	1,164	1,426

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Avondale	2		
Baker	7	5	5
Barrett	6	7	13
Brown	14	16	20
Bush	185	154	202
Gomer	18	6	4
Dupuy		24	155
Eagan	60	117	312
Elyton	168	160	164
Fairmont			43
Gate City	1	29	123
Gibson	12	23	65
Glen Iris	48	85	133
Gorgas	42	56	60
Graymont	444	495	527
Huffman	3	1	1
Inglenook	16	39	63
Jackson	10	17	72
Jones Valley	100	132	162
Kennedy	52	67	52
Lakeview	51	85	121
Lee	44	55	63
McArthur	328	480	677
Minor	5	13	12
North Birmingham	7	17	51
North Roebuck		6	13
Norwood	7	33	41
Powell	37	77	111
Pratt	165	359	401
Robinson		1	3
South East Lake		1	4
Wilson	1	2	6
Wylam	47	52	84
Homebound		8	6
Speech and Hearing	4	12	17
Total Elementary	1,884	2,634	3,786
Grand Total	2,874	3,798	5,212

II-13

Table 4 indicates the number of Black students, by school, enrolled in predominantly White schools during implementation of the freedom of choice plan. The increase in Blacks attending White schools took a notable rise during this time compared to that of the earlier plan. In 1966-67 there were 361 Black students attending predominantly White schools compared to 2,874 in 1967-68, thus indicating an increase of approximately nine hundred percent. By 1969-70 there were 5,212 Black students attending predominently White schools.

During the first year of freedom of choice Birmingham's pupil count, as compared to the enrollment of exactly one year before, was down 1,231 of which 157 were Black. As 1,074 fewer White students were in attendance 1966-67, it seems that the exodus to the suburbs had begun. Since we cannot affirm that other factors did not contribute to a flight from the city, the previous statement should be interpreted with caution.

Table 5 illustrates that status of faculty integration during these three school years. A quick glance reveals that Black faculty members moved to predominantly White schools at a much more rapid rate than White teachers to Black schools. Specific reasons for this disparity were not revealed. However, we are led to believe that all transfers were voluntary. (See Appendix C for a copy of Superintendent's letter to staff requesting transfers. Also see Appendix D for a copy of a report on efforts to integrate staffs submitted to the court by the Board of Education. Appendix E shows a copy of "Targets for the School year 1968-69" toward staff integration by the school board).

Table 6 shows the status of integration in the Birmingham Public schools as of March, 1969.

TABLE 5

Faculty Desegregation Under Freedom of Choice Plan

	1967-68			1968-69			1969-70		
	High	Elem.	Total	High	Elem.	Total	High	Elem.	Total
Black Teachers in Predominantly White Schools	11	20	31	22	89	111	23	103	126
White Teachers in Predominantly Negro Schools	3	-	3	11	38	49	25	51	76

TABLE 6

Status of Integration in Birmingham Public Schools in March, 1969

ITEM	
No. Schools	98
No. Schools with Integrated Student Bodies	43
No. Schools with Integrated Faculties	80
No. Students in Schools with Integrated Faculties	58,443
No. Students in Schools with Integrated Student Bodies	28,731
Percent of Teachers as Members of Integrated Faculties	87.4%
Percent of Students as Members of Integrated Faculities	87.3%
Percent of Students as Members of Integrated Student Bodies	47.0%
No. of Blacks in Formerly All White Schools	4,092
No. of Whites in Formerly All Black Schools	3
No. of Schools without Integrated Faculities	18
No. of Schools without Integrated Student Bodies	55

To summarize Table 6, we find that less than half of the schools had integrated student bodies by the end of the freedom of choice plan; approximately 90% had integrated faculties as well as approximately 90% of the students being in schools with integrated faculties. These figures do not indicate the extent to which students within these schools were exposed to a teacher of a different race. An estimate is that such opportunity for exposure was minimal given the small number of faculty member employed in schools where they represented a racial minority.

CHAPTER II

Development and Description of Current Desegregation Plan

In 1969 the United States District Court held freedom of choice to be inadequate for the disestablishment of dual school systems and directed Birmingham to submit a plan to the court, to be effective during the 1970-71 school year, which primarily called for the use of zone assignments to end the dual system. The school board was also instructed to collaborate with the U.S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare in the preparation of such plan and to direct their efforts toward student and faculty assignments, facilities, athletic and other school activities in order to make a conversion to the status of a unitary system. Busing was not a factor in this directive as Birmingham employed no school transportation system.

The designated collaborator, representing the U.S. Office of Education, was the Auburn University Center for Assistance to School Systems with Problems Occasioned by Desegregation. Jointly they developed the plan that was submitted to the court on December 30, 1969. In an interview with an assistant superintendent it was revealed that in addition to the select eight member panel, these individuals worked on the plan in conjunction with members of the NAACP and the Justice Department prior to presenting a document to the court. A summary of the proposed plan, which was approved by the court with modifications, follows.

Student Assignments. Birmingham continued to employ the same organizational structure consisting of elementary schools (grades 1-8) and high schools (grades 9-12). Eight previously all Black elementary schools were closed and the remaining 76 divided into attendance areas, and one previously all Black high school was closed and the city divided into 13 high school attendance areas. A provision was provided for majority-to-minority student transfers at both levels; such right to transfer dependent on the capacity of the receiver school. An additional provision allowed high school students to transfer to a school offering a particular curriculum that was unavailable in his designated school zone. Twelfth graders were allowed, if their parents desired, to continue in the school they attended in 1969-70 in 1970-71. Finally, a small number of students from the county were allowed to continue in particular city schools.

Faculty and Staff Assignments. The board's intention was to assign staff so that 25-33 1/3% of each school's faculty would be in the racial minority.

Buildings and Facilities; Construction and Site Selection. The plan proposed 18 improvement projects for elementary schools and six projects for high schools in order to facilitate the achievement of a unitary school system.

School Activities. The plan merely provided for a merger of all school sponsored functions, i.e. athletics, clubs, leadership groups, etc., insuring equal opportunities.

Minor modifications were suggested by the court but most were eventually ruled inappropriate and concurred with the school board's proposal.

(See Appendix F for a full copy of the court decision, Memorandums from the Superintendent's office and the Division of Personnel relative to the reassignment of faculties are found in Appendices G and H).

Of interest at this point is to view total enrollment figures of the Birmingham Public Schools from 1960 to 1973 in order to compare the number of students enrolled prior to the first desegregation plan with enrollment figures throughout the implementation of all three plans. Table 7 shows the total student enrollment in the Birmingham Public Schools from 1960 to 1973 according to race. From 1960 to 1962 the White population remained relatively stable while the Black population showed an increase of approximately 1,300. With the beginning of the first plan in 1963 the White enrollment dropped by about 850 while the Black enrollment increased by more than 600. At this time there were approximately 2,500 more Whites than Blacks in the Public School System. In 1967, the beginning of freedom of choice, the Black population outnumbered the White by more than 1,000. By the end of the freedom of choice option the Black students' enrollment exceeded that of the White by almost 4.000. During the current plan White enrollment has decreased by more than 7,500 over the four years while the Black enrollment has dropped by less than 200. Total figures over the 13 year period indicate a relatively stable Black population, varying by less than 3,000, with an overall gain of almost 1,000. On the other hand, since the first desegregation plan, there has been a steady decrease in White enrollment. Over the 13 year time span White enrollment has dropped by approximately 17,000. With a combined racial attendance count we find a total school enrollment in 1973 of 15,700 less than in 1960. In 1960 the White enrollment accounted for 53% of the total, whereas in 1973 they accounted for only 38% of the total enrollment. The greatest drops in White enrollment coincide with the current plan, forced desegregation. Where these students have gone is undetermined; however, it is felt that many moved to the predominantly White suburbs while others attend one of the many private schools.

Table 8 and 9 show enrollment figures over the 13 year period according to elementary and high school levels. Considering that the ratio of grades in the elementary schools is 2-1 compared to the high schools we see that the attendance drops were comparable at both levels. Again, it should be pointed out that other factors combined with school desegregation could easily account for a part of this withdrawal of Whites from the public schools, i.e. escaping from the occupational tax, construction of freeways eliminating housing property, etc. In view of these other possible factors one still simply must assume that forced integration in 1970-71 continues to be the prime reason for the dramatic decrease in White enrollment over the past four years.

Some of our field investigators carefully studied a map of the school district that identified the schools as they functioned under the dual school structure which, in addition, had the new attendance zones superimposed on the surface. By comparing formerly all Black schools, in terms of size and location, with those still open and the racial composition of each, it is highly visible that Birmingham is in a transition phase in housing patterns over almost three-fourths of the city. The eastern end of the city limits remains primarily a White community, whereas the center of the city is heavily populated by Blacks and the western section is rapidly becoming a Black community. It should be pointed out again that although it would seem that many of the city's wealthier residents have left, the city has become more prosperous. Perhaps the business centers, recreation areas, and entertainment attractions are continuing to pull in the money from suburbanites although they no longer live within the city boundaries. This seems to be an extremely important factor; otherwise, the future of Birmingham would be precarious.

TABLE 7

Total Student Enrollment for Birmingham Public Schools: 1960 to 1973

YEAR	WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL
1973	20,934	33,907	54,841
1972	23,659	34,440	58,099
1971	26,246	33,990	60,236
1970	28,236	34,168	62,404
1969	31,406	35,145	66,551
1968	32,504	34,679	67,183
1967	33,800	34,814	68,614
1966	34,750	34,970	69,720
1965	35,657	34,957	70,614
1964	36,333	35,449	71,782
1963	37,202	34,839	72,041
1962	37,645	34,207	71,852
1961	37,515	33,821	71,336
1960	37,610	32,959	70,569

TABLE 8

Total Student Enrollment in Birmingham Public High Schools: 1960 to 1973

YEAR	WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL
1973	7,206	10,816	18,022
1972	7,965	10,833	18,798
1971	8,714	10,469	19,183
1970	9,169	9,939	19,108
1969	10,043	9,708	19,751
1968	10,055	9,147	19,202
1967	10,109	9,044	19,153
1966	10,324	8,905	19,229
1965	10,470	8,723	19,193
1964	11,383	9,322	20,705
1963	11,643	8,965	20,608
1962	11,368	8,327	19,695
1961	10,894	7,869	18,763
1960	9,900	6,641	16,541

TABLE 9

Total Student Enrollment in Birmingham Elementary Schools: 1960 to 1973

YEAR	WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL
1973	13,728	23,091	36,819
1972	15,694	23,607	39,301
1971	17,532	23,521	41,053
1970	19,067	24,229	43,296
1969	21,363	25,437	46,800
1968	22,449	25,532	47,981
1967	23,691	25,770	49,461
1966	24,426	26,065	50,491
1965	25,187	26,234	51,421
1964	24,950	26,127	51,077
1963	25,559	25,874	51,433
1962	26,277	25,880	52,157
1961	26,621	25,952	52,573
1960	27,710	26,318	54,028

A final point to consider here is the issue of faculty reassignments. Table 5 (see chapter 1) indicated that in the last school year of Freedom of Choice, 1969-70, there were 23 Black teachers in predominantly White high schools and 25 White teachers in predominantly Black high schools; in addition, there were 103 Black teachers in predominantly White elementary schools and 51 White teachers in predominantly Black elementary schools. The school board, in its effort to integrate faculties under the unitary plan, attempted to place equal ratios of Black and White teachers in each school. (See Appendices G and H). An absolute equal racial ratio has not been realized but the movement toward its achievement has been positive over the four years of the current plan (See Appendix I for student and teacher membership counts from 1970-71 through 1973-74 according to school).

Table 10 shows the number of White and Black teachers employed at the elementary and secondary levels since 1970-71.

TABLE 10

Number of Black and White Teachers 1970-71 to 1973-74

	High School		Elementary School		Total		Grand Total
Year	Wht.	Blk.	Wht.	Blk.	Wht.	Blk.	
1970-71	440	407	735	808	1,193	1,215	2,408
1971-72	439	425	726	744	1,232	1,199	2,431
1972-73	430	421	762	764	1,192	1,185	2,377
1973-74	438	415	687	742	1,125	1,157	2,282

The above table indicates a relatively stable ratio, nearing the goal of employing 50% of each race. Over the four years we see that at the high school level there has consistently been more White than Black teachers and the reverse has persisted at the elementary level.

CHAPTER III

Process Leading Toward Implementation

The school board appointed committees to articulate the desegregation plan to the community. Community leaders, administrative and faculty personnel served on all the various committees. It was reported that the community leaders went to all sections of the city to hold "Rap-Sessions" with the people in the various neighborhoods. In many instances this approach helped in the transition to desegregation.

Local newspapers, churches and civic organizations pitched in and supported the implementation of the desegregation plan. The Black newspaper strongly supported the move; while the White press was favorable, it justified its stance by proclaiming that such was the law and it must be complied with. It was reported that many potential problems were squelched by this same rationale. In essence, desegregation would be put into effect in spite of protests, such was the law.

It is essential to understand the importance of the prevailing notion that there was no alternative to the desegregation plan - compliance was the only option. In the absence of alternatives, those who were dubious and potential agitators remained neutral and no significant issues arose to be used as a vehicle around which to rally opposition.

In the phases of information giving and preparation of the community, staff, and students there was an absence of community involvement. Decisions and plans were set at the highest level and all information was released internally; there was no external input.

Preparation of Staff, Students and Community

To properly service the faculties, staffs, students and parents of a community and system this large in preparation for desegregation is obviously a task of monumental proportion. In the discription which follows of the human relations program that was implemented, the reader will see that too few were directly effected. Federal aid was granted to help carry out the human relations activities. (A time chart identifying the activities that were proposed and implemented during 1970-71 follows).

The pre-desegregation in-service human relations training involved individuals from four population groups and was held during June of 1970. Consultants from Auburn University helped in the design and implementation of these workshops.

The first training program included approximately 125 principals, supervisors and program directors. These individuals were exposed to group techniques and worked toward the identification of potential problems and a means to deal with such problems. (See Appendix J-1 for an outline of activities).

SCHOOL YEAR 1970-1971

APPENDIX ______

ptember ds sultant Fee 0.00	1. The Director and Associate will work with faculties helping them solve problems related to desegregation. 2. The Director and Associate will prepare ITV programs to be used in inservice training sessions in individual schools. Consultant fee will be needed when outside expert is needed to supply content. Much of the content will come from video tapes made during the several summer workshops.
tober Funds eded 8,100 3,000 1,500	Items 1 and 2 above will be continued. 3. Workshop for 500 SLG's and 40 FACS - to report progress and set new goals. 5 hours - Saturday - stipend $15 per participant ④ Workshop for 200 teachers not included in previous workshops. 5 hours - Saturday - stipend $15 per participant 5. 100 teachers to visit in "good" minority-majority teaching situations. $15 per day needed to pay substitute for teacher making visit.
vember 0 consultant fee 000 500	Items 1, 2, 4 and 5 will be continued. This month:there will be 2 item 4 workshops this month.
cember	Item 1 will be continued this month
nuary 0 000 500	Items 1, 2, 4 and 5 will be continued. There will be 2 item 4 workshops this month.
bruary 0 000 500	Items 1, 2, 4 and 5 will be continued.
rch 0. 3,000, 1,500	Items 1, 2, 4 and 5 will be continued.
ril 0,8100;3,000,1,500	Items 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 will be continued
y $50	Items 1 and 2 will be continued.

The second in-service program included approximately 500 staff members from the 89 schools; they were designated as the School Leadership Group and charged with the responsibility of coordinating human relation programs at the building level. (See Appendix J-2 for an outline of activities).

A third workshop was designed for 100 high school students representing the 13 high schools. This workshop was directed toward the development of activities to facilitate interracial understanding. Some were: a plan for welcoming and orienting new students; making posters and slogans, writing songs, poems and jingles to create better interracial understanding among students. (See Appendix J-3 for an outline of workshop activities).

A final workshop was conducted for approximatley 200 P.T.A. members and P.T.A. council officers. These sessions were oriented toward learning to work together, how to prepare communities to accept change, strategies for breaking down racial barriers, and exposure to teachers who had made a successful transition in schools where they represented a minority. (See Appendix J-4 for an outline of workshop activities).

A final pre-school activity in human relations was conducted in August, 1970. Over a five day period programs were conducted in individual schools. The nature of these activities varied according to the preferences of the leaders at the building level. (See Appendix J-5 for an outline of professional activities).

CHAPTER IV

Programs and Practices Incident to Desegregation

As discussed in the second chapter, the primary goal in Birmingham was to develop a unitary school system. This included a plan to 1) zone students so that practically all schools would be desegregated, 2) reassign teachers so that approximately a third of each faculty would be represented by the racial minority (either Black or White), and 3) that all student activities, clubs and athletics would be a a unitary offering.

As a consequence of devising attendance zones nine formerly all Black schools were closed, eight elementary and one high school. For the most part those schools were the smaller ones that had serviced the small pockets of Blacks living adjacent to White neighborhoods. However, since 1970 two of those schools have been reopened due to an annexation and population shift.

The vast flight of Whites to the suburbs and the enrollment of others in private schools has already been described and illustrated by a table showing student enrollment by race since 1960 in Chapter II. Also, Appendix I shows enrollment by race since 1960 in Chapter II. Also, Appendix I show enrollment figures by school since the inception of the unitary plan. The obvious question is: To what extent are the Birmingham Public Schools now desegregated? Table II indicates student enrollment figures taken from an attendance report of October, 1973.

TABLE 11

Black Enrollment in Birmingham Public Schools by Percent: October, 1973

	Number having Black Students enrolled within the Indicated Percent Ranges	
Percent Range	High Schools	Elementary Schools
0-25%	2	20
26-50%	2	12
51-75%	4	4
76-100%	5[1]	42[2]

1. Two had 100% Black enrollment.
2. Twenty-one had 100% Black enrollment.

Since twenty-three schools have all Black enrollments we find that 25% of the schools are not desegregated, thus, in a technical sense, Birmingham is a partially desegregated school system. The above mentioned reasons, White flight and private schools, accounts for much of this 25%. In addition, remember that three-quarters of the city housing is involved in a transition phase where Black families are moving into formerly White neighborhoods. These facts are included without the intent of either indicting or justifying the large percentage of all Black schools, but to indicate that mobility seems to be such a factor at present that the school board is rendered unable to desegregate all schools through a zone plan. In any event, the dual school system ceased to exist in 1970-71. However, the table indicates a better representation of racial distributions at the elementary level, perhaps due to their being more conveniently located than the high schools. Whereas 59% of the elementary schools have more than a 50% Black enrollment, 69% of the high schools have more than a 50% Black enrollment. Recall that it is possible for a high school student to transfer to a school out of his zone if it offers a curriculum that is not offered in his zoned school. Another means employed to obtain a transfer is for the parents to obtain a medical or psychological recommendation that their child's physical or emotional health requires that he/she be placed in a different school.

Administration and Faculty Ratios

As mentioned in Chapter II, Birmingham chose to assign faculty members at equal ratios in each school. Table 10 clearly indicated an unequal but positive effort at achieving this goal. In many instances there is an uneven assignment of teachers at the various schools. When such is the case an effort is made to comply with the policy of filling the odd position with a teacher of the same race as the majority of students at that school. Teacher enrollment figures from 1973-74 indicate that this policy is probably followed at the elementary level but not at the high school level. It was indicated that in instances where teachers were needed in special academic areas, but no acceptable applicant was available from the preferred race, exceptions were made. It was reported that this had presented no problems. Principals are assigned to schools based on their being of the same race as the majority of the students; so are clerical workers. Although some principals resigned, this act created no problems or loss of jobs. No data was secured that permitted us to verify that all principals are currently assigned according to the policy statement.

Up to the time of the move to a unitary school system there were no minority assistant superintendents, just a Director of Negro Schools. Currently there are a few at the assistant level and in supervisory positions. No specific data is available.

When teachers were reassigned a few never reported to work while others reported to their former schools. Since there was no way to legally contest the reassignments most reported to their new assignments within a few days. Some teachers who proved it a hardhsip were reassigned, usually to a school where they were in the racial minority. Transfers were allowed if the teachers would accept assignments to schools where they would be in the minority. Attrition has been no problem as there are plenty of applications on file at the personnel office.

Although we, as a research team, cannot report on the equity in reassigning teachers based on an equal distribution of quality throughout the system, we can report that in one all Black elementary school that we visited all the seventh and eighth grade teachers were social studies specialists. Whether this was an exception or a frequent practice was undetermined.

Grouping Patterns

Grouping patterns were observed in several ways. In-class observations allowed us to count the enrollment by race, and interviews with teachers, students, principals and counselors permitted us to ask if students were ability grouped and whether they were allowed to choose their courses at the high school level.

At the elementary school level 29 teachers and 9 principals were interviewed. Amazingly, 77% of the teachers said ability grouping was utilized, only 22% of the principals admitted to this practice. The teachers said that they grouped children most often in reading and less frequently in math. Primarily, the basis for grouping was the use of scores from standardized achievement tests. Those teachers who did not group students were generally first grade teachers. A few, as well as most principals, said that ability grouping had been used previously but had not seemed to serve a useful function and had been discontinued.

What could have been a reason for the above discrepancy lies in how teachers and principals might have interpreted the term ability grouping. Our observations generally indicated a good mixture of students in classrooms, racially. Perhaps students are assigned to classrooms hetergeneously by the principal but the teachers group within this general heterogeneous assignment for particular subjects.

Seventh and eighth grade students in the elementary schools take subjects just as high school students do. Although their math and reading teachers generally refer to each class as having relatively higher or lower abilities, they tend to view the students as having a rather heterogeneous pattern of abilities. At this level the students have no choice of courses, all are required and the curriculum is not diversified.

Table 12 shows the number and percentages of Black and White students in the elementary classes we observed. The figures reflect the students present in each classroom during our observations, not the total enrollment figures. Only twenty classrooms are included; two schools, one with an all Black and the other an all White enrollment, are omitted. Thus Table 12 includes observations in 7 elementary schools across most grades. Notice that the ratios of Black and White students vary a great deal but reflect the microcosm of racial distributions we chose in our sample.

At the high school level all schools used a type of ability grouping known as tracking. However, tracking was more in terms of offering curriculum that was appropriate for each of the three diploma programs - Academic, General and Business. The general opinion was offered that most

TABLE 12

Racial Distributions of Elementary School Classrooms Observed

Grade Level	Total No. Students	No. White Students	Percent White Students	No. Black Students	Percent Black Students
2	14	0	00%	14	100% (A)
2	21	5	24%	16	76%
2	20	15	75%	5	25%
3	21	4	19%	17	81%
3	30	17	57%	13	43%
3	21	5	24%	16	76%
4	18	17	94%	1	16%
4	24	14	58%	10	42%
4	25	11	44%	14	56%
5	21	6	29%	15	71%
6	28	22	79%	6	21%
6	25	18	72%	7	28%
7	20	10	50%	10	50%
7	22	6	26%	16	74%
7	24	11	46%	13	54%
8	26	15	58%	11	42%
8	21	9	43%	12	57%
8	25	5	20%	20	80%
Sp.Ed.	13	10	77%	3	23%
Sp.Ed.	10	6	60%	4	40%

(A) This class was for low readers in a 76% Black School.

students entered high school with an understanding of which program they would eventually enter based on their awareness of their abilities. The ninth grade served as a final opportunity for students to recognize their abilities and make a decision as to which diploma program they would pursue. Since students are enrolled in English and Math classes at the ninth grade *level according to achievement* test scores and teacher recommendations, it would seem that those wishing access to the college preparatory program are predetermined to a great extent prior to the tenth grade in that they have been placed in classes deemed commensurate with their ability. There is much research evidence that suggests students become aware of and internalize feelings of academic ability from the level of their placement, thus many must be locked into the general or business programs during the ninth grade. The term tracking is applied with reference to the three diploma programs in that the curriculum content varies with each program and is designed to correspond to the substance required for focus in each.

One of the high schools we visited had an approximately 50/50 racial ratio, one all Black and one 95% White. Since observations and information collected in the two latter cases were devoid of racial findings they are excluded in the remainder of this discussion.

In the high school with an approximately equal racial distribution it was found that an estimated 20% of the students were in the business program, 50% in the general program and 35-38% in the academic program. Some estimates obtained through interviews suggested that no more than 5% Black students are in the academic curriculum. Also classes in ROTC and food are almost all Black while classes in Trigonometry, Physics and Chemistry are almost all White. Interview data also indicated that there are more Blacks in basic courses (general curriculum) than Whites.

Given the above information we can conclude that by a process of selection through the use of grouping, Black students are disproportionately placed in lower tracks and remain there, at least in this school. And also, being aware of their placement in lower tracks, Black students select a general or business program. Such a procedure is doing very little to offer Black students an opportunity to experience an education that would encourage them to seek access to vocations offering the material comforts and rewards associated with middle-class American ideals.

We must also conclude that the five classrooms we visited in this high school were filled with students in the general program (see Table 13 below), based on the percentages of Blacks and Whites observed.

In our observations of general classroom seating arrangements we found that Black and White students were not segregated. However, in the few classrooms where we observed reading groups (primarily at the elementary level) we saw much evidence of resegregation.

It should be noted that disproportionate racial representation in higher and lower tracks and in reading and math groups does not seem to be intended as an act of resegregation. Similar procedures were followed

TABLE 13

Racial Distributions of Students Observed in One Integrated High School

Class	Total No. Students	No. White Students	Percent White Students	No. Black Students	Percent Black Students
Eng. Lit.	24	9	37%	15	63%
Soc. Stud.	26	15	58%	11	42%
Geometry	27	14	52%	13	48%
Algebra	17	9	53%	8	47%
Library(A)	23	9	39%	14	61%

(A) For our purposes the library is a learning setting equivalent to that of a classroom. The significant observation here was that all of the students had completely segregated themselves by race in their seating and interaction.

in schools having all Black and all White student bodies.

CURRICULUM

In the area of curriculum modifications, which accompanies desegregation, there was no apparent structure nor were guidelines provided. There was marginal evidence of supplying texts with multi-ethnic characters and themes and a few high school courses were primarily oriented toward Black History. Two observations of critical importance were made at the elementary level. (1) There is a tremendous disparity across schools in the quality of facilities and instructional materials; for the most part textbooks are very old. It seemed that the greater the minority enrollment the greater the disparity. The superintendent, who is relatively new, recognizes this problem and is aware of the fact that there is a disparity in the allocation of funds. (2) Such contrasts, as mentioned above, are permitted with relative frequency because, in general, elementary schools in Alabama are not required to be accredited by a regional evaluation association. However, a movement toward accreditation is now in progress. In order for the elementary schools to meet the requirements of the accrediting board, all must pass minimal standards in terms of instructional supplies and materials, in-service plans, long range educational goals, staff development, adequate space for maximum enrollment, etc. By undergoing the process of accreditiation the elementary schools will have to meet acceptable standards and thus upgrade the overall level of their quality. Therefore, an equalizing effect will have to come and funds will have to be allocated on a needs basis.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Participation of Black and White students in extra-curricular activities was examined at the 7th, 8th and high school levels. All data collected through interviews with students, teachers and principals. Thus the following description is impressionistic rather than absolute.

At the elementary school level the only activities identified were sports related, with the exception of class elections reported in one school. In the case of the latter the principal decreed that class officers would be racially mixed. The general feeling was expressed that more attention should be given to establishing activities that promote social experiences for Black and White children.

The extent to which school athletic teams played each other was approached ambiguously. It seems that teams do play each other on an interschool basis but this program is more related to initiation at the building level than as a result of central administration policy or planning. There are no elementary school football teams. These are provided through the Parks and Recreation program. It was interesting to note that in two schools having a 55% White enrollment one had two Black and the other had three Black members on the basketball team while in a 55% Black school there was only one White basketball team member. This observation reflects the trend in schools having more or less of one race than the other with regard to basketball. Track teams are racially mixed. Soccer and badminton are predominantely White. One school having a 55% White enrollment had no Blacks on the softball team. Another school having a 55% White enrollment but a Black female coach had very few White girls on the volleyball team.

Our observations and interview data suggest that the majority race predominates athletic teams and the race of the coach also has a great influence on a team's racial make-up.

In the high school having less than 5% Black students the following was reported. There are no Blacks on the basketball or football teams. There are no Black cheerleaders. The track team has a few Black members. It was indicated that a few Black boys went out for basketball but didn't make the team. There are a few Black students on the yearbook committee and in the dramatics club. Also, a few Blacks are on the Teen Board - a cooperative program where students work and model clothes in department stores. Another finding was that no Black students hold a student council office or are officers in clubs.

Reporting or extra-curricular activities in the high school with an approximately 50/50 racial distribution (actually more Blacks than Whites) should be prefaced by stating that one should not generalize the following findings to other integrated high schools in Birmingham as they differ greatly in their demography. This school, for example, was formerly all white and has made a transition from having a highly regarded academic reputation to one having a qualitative reputation below the mean. Many Black families have moved into the school zone while the poor White families have remained. Thus the economic strata in this school population is predominately representative of the lower-middle income level.

This high school has a Black student body president. Clubs, organizations and athletic teams that are racially mixed included the Y-Teen group, Driver Education Club, Cheerleaders, Rocket Club, Junior Red Cross (officers mixed also), Choir (mostly White), ROTC (70% Black but has White officers), Honor Society (2/3 White), Shop Club (mostly White, an unusual finding), Drama Club (predominantly Black), football and baseball teams. The Pep Club and basketball team are all Black.

Social and Friendship Patterns of Faculty, Staff, and Students

Data reported in this section gleaned from interviews with principals and teachers. Interview leads only required the respondents to express their perceptions. It should be noted that the data pool was comprised of 12 principal interviews and 40 teacher interviews.

Student Interaction

At the elementary school level the principals' impressions greately coincided with our observations; namely, that children mixed well in the classrooms and on the playground but not in the cafeterias. The following are some examples of typical responses:

> "Kids don't even think Black and White this year." and
> "They may segregate in the cafeteria, but they do intermis on the playground."

Principals' observations at the two desegregated high schools follow:

> "Almost no mixing extra curricularly" (attributed to the fact that Blacks have not chosen to participate). and "I'm especially proud of the way students here basically conducted themselves and the way they get along."

The 29 elementary teachers tended to give positive comments on the student's interaction. However, as a whole, their observations did include a wide range of responses. The comments cited below illustrate their answers; and it should be noted, there was no tendency for Blacks or Whites to express any point of view that could be attributed most often to either race.

> "I see Blacks and Whites walking down the hall together."
> "White children will nominate Black children for class offices but the reverse is not true."
> "Some White boys imitate the dress style of popular Black boys."
> "This week is 'Good Citizen Week'. My class elected a Black girl and a White boy."
> "The students interact quite well. Black students argue a lot among themselves. White students occasionally call the Blacks 'nigger'."
> "Children play together and eat together."
> "Small children bring prejudices from home. Many White children don't want to play with Black children."

Teacher opinions at the senior high level seemed to be more positive and general in content. They made comments such as:

> "They group themselves along racial lines but they get along very well."
> "Student interaction is good and very much improved."
> "There are always exceptions but students get along well in this school. However, they tend to polarize themselves."

To summarize, with respect to our sampling of teachers and principals from a few schools, it appears that students do interact in the classrooms and on the playgrounds better than in the lunchrooms. And at the social level they tend to group among themselves. It was reported that more open expressions of prejudice appear at the earlier grades as a result of home prejudice being brought to school. And everyone seemed to feel that racial interaction has continued to progress in a positive direction; however, it is noted that the word friendship was excluded from the comments offered in response to patterns of racial interaction among students.

Staff Interaction

With only a few exceptions almost all principals and teachers felt that racial interaction among staffs was good in the respective schools but that such interaction did not extend beyond the school itself. It was reported that in one school there had been family parties including both races and mixed baby showers. At their assigned schools teachers are reported to work well professionally, but at two of the buildings Black and White teachers have gradually come to use separate lounges. Only one interviewee indicated that teachers in her school had little professional interaction. It is apparent that although more than 95% of the principals and teachers viewed staff relationships as good there is a great deal of variance expressed in the content of the word good. Our impression is that Black staff are more willing to extend the current status of racial interaction than are the Whites, and as a result of the present conditions Blacks seem more uncomfortable and disenchanted with the nature of the interaction.

It was also learned that for the most part teachers and students of the same race tended to have better interaction than cross-racially.

In addition to asking about staff interactions, principals and teachers were asked what their schools do to promote racial interaction among themselves and students. A vast majority said their schools did "nothing." A few suggested that racial interaction took place through athletic teams and clubs which had been in existence before desegregation. Only one school indicated that through assemblies directed toward the theme of character building had there been any such efforts, and this at the student level. An additional few indicated that interracial relations should develop through experience and that intentionally designed programs are often counterproductive.

Equality of Student Discipline

Since an important aspect of equality of educational opportunity is that of the right to be treated equally as human beings, the study team sought to collect the impessions of advisors, principals, teachers, counselors and students relative to the consistency or inconsistency of disciplinary measures as applied to students of each race.

It is noted that the boy's advisor in the most integrated high school of our study stated that one more White than Black student had been suspended during the school year. This information was not collected at the elementary school level.

It seems that there are no specific guidelines or codes of student conduct established for the entire system. Therefore, varying degrees of conduct codes exist among the schools. As a consequence of desegregation administration of corporal punishment has become a system-wide policy. That is, only principals may administer paddlings at the elementary level, no longer are teachers able to render this type of punishment. At the high school level the boy's advisors are given the same authority.

Teachers on Discipline

Teachers were asked whether discipline and conduct codes were applied consistently across races.

In all instances the high school teachers felt that students were treated equally and fairly (this applies in both Black and White teacher interviews). At the well integrated high school teachers indicated that discipline problems were sent to the student advisors; problems are not racial, fights most often occur within races; and older students create more problems. In the predominantly White high school, teachers commented that treatment of students is fair; discipline codes are applied equally; the degree of discipline depends on the incident, e.g. boys are suspended for smoking, girls are usually given detention for the first offense; vandalism and heavy drugs are usually the biggest problem with White boys; discipline is primarily left to the classroom teacher, then to the student advisors, and at the highest level to the principal; Black students present no unusual problems. At the all Black school teachers reported the following: discipline problems tend to be personal, not racial, e.g. Black students who give trouble to White teachers also give trouble to Black teachers; sometimes White teachers have discipline problems with Black students; and, if White teachers are too nice they have difficulty disciplining Black students.

Some random samples of teacher comments on student discipline at the elementary school level follow: "White teachers have difficulty in disciplining Black kids," "There is too much favoritism for Blacks," "Not much of a problem for me, but problems with discipline have increased since corporal punishment was forbidden," "White students require direct, immediate attention...Black students need a lot of help in coping with home problems," "Discipline is more difficult with Blacks. I can't compensate for home instilled behavior."

Counselors on Discipline

Counselor responses are only represented at the high school level as there were no elementary counselors in the schools the study team visited. Comments showed little variance across schools. Some were: "Blacks feel Whites get preferential treatment in terms of discipline," "There are few racial problems," "The ninth graders seem to have an adjustment problem," "There are no problems between students and teachers - not even White teachers and Black students. I have not seen White teachers afraid of Black students," "Drugs predominate in this area."

Students on Discipline

A group of Black and White students in each of the three high schools and in two of the elementary schools were asked whether rules and discipline were equally enforced at their respective schools. In general the students indicated equal treatment. However, views were not always consistent. The high school students gave the following responses: "Black students get away with stuff the White kids would be suspended for, e.g. fighting in the cafeteria," "Drugs is the biggest problem and it's getting worse," "Advisors should advise not give out discipline," "There are quite a few pregnant girls and pot smoking, but the situation is getting better than last year," "A few Black and White teachers have problems disciplining students, it's an individual teacher thing."

Students interviewed in the elementary schools gave answers similar to those of the high school students - when asked about equality of discipline they tended to talk about behavioral problems more than the disciplinary action. Some examples of their responses follow: "There are some Black-White fights but they're not racial fights," "Both the Black and White students call each other names but Miss "Smith" makes them apoligize," "There are lots of fights between Blacks and Whites," "Some Black students say that White teachers are always hollering at Blacks - But that is not true."

Advisors on Discipline

Boys' and girls' advisors in each of the three high schools were asked about the nature of discipline administered to the students and their view of how fair such disciplinary actions were received by students of both races. Some responses follow: "This year I get a lot of cooperation from Black students, they accept their punishment alone with everyone else. Last year they were looking to see if they were going to be treated fair," "The major discipline problems have to do with students cutting classes, or being considered insubordinate to teachers. There are constant comments about a child being disrespectful over very minor affairs. Teachers seem to push too hard on insignificant issues," "Truant cases are the greatest problem," "The students don't care for science and English and take it out on these teachers. In the science department the problem is mostly between the Black students and the White teacher," "The major problem is that the Black girls are belligerent and the matriarchial system is the cause," "This year we can talk about problems without it being racial."

Principals on Discipline

The following are examples of typical comments by principals on student discipline. They are so homogeneous that it is not necessary to separate responses of elementary school principals from high school principals. "Discipline is nondiscriminatory. The girls are more of a problem than boys. Black girls are less submissive than White girls. The majority of the problems are non-racial fist fights, Black on Black and White on White. Mixed fights don't appear to be over racial matters," "Major discipline problems result from outsiders, 18-21 year olds, who are not in school. There is a problem in not being able to police the grounds," "My biggest problem is class-cutting. My teachers are becoming too lax and not caring about the whereabouts of kids," "Not only is it true that many Whites cannot handle Black kids, but it is also true of Black teachers. However, I do think that more Whites have that problem than Black teachers," "The major problems are cutting class and smoking cigarettes, there is only a trace of drugs and drug problems are not a concern since it doesn't happen on school property," "Most of my problems are trifleness, like talking in class. And most problems came from kids just moving into the district. One or two teachers have sent disproportionate numbers of Blacks in for misbehavior. I talked to the teachers about it," "We have no big racial problems as far as integration. I'm determined that children treat each other with respect. I'm a Christian and I demand that everyone be treated with respect," "We do have some problems...I believe in building a behavioral contract with a child after talking to that child. On the third time the child is brought into the office, he gets paddled. We will refer the child to the Board only in extreme cases. Visiting teachers are usually very effective."

SPECIAL FUNDED PROGRAMS

Special funds were provided for the human relations training program for the 1970-71 school year which has been described elsewhere in this study.

In addition, Birmingham Public Schools receives Title I funds to support educational programs directed at children with special educational needs. On page XXXIV and XXXV, the 1972-73 report, submitted by the Birmingham School District, is provided to describe the nature of those services provided with Title I funds. If other specially funded programs exist within the district they were not identified.

Student Achievement

The recent past has produced evidence that many factors other than innate intellectual potential influence student's performance on standardized achievement tests. Page XXXVI represents an example of how one educator in Alabama has attempted to account for some of these "other" variables when comparing Alabama student achievement results with that of the national norm sample. Note that four variables control economic status while the other accounts for the ratio of Whites and Blacks. It is well known that income level of individuals and communities is highly related to social status and opportunities for upward mobility; also,

SUMMARY REPORT OF TITLE I PROJECT, ESEA, P.L. 89 - 10

1972 - 1973

Name and address of Local Educational Agency	Telephone number:
Birmingham Public Schools	323-8521
2015 7th Avenue, North	Ext. 245-246-247
Birmingham, Alabama 35203	

Brief Title: Services for Children with Special Educational Needs

Cost: $1,880,932.00

Number of Participants: 8,374

Grade Levels Included: K - 11

Brief description of approved Title I activities designed to meet the special needs of educationally deprived children participating in this project:

Birmingham's Title I project is an umbrella type program with a number of different components designed to meet needs of pupils from pre-school through eleventh grade high school. Though the various component parts differ specifically in emphasis and in techniques used to accomplish their particular purposes, they share a common two fold goal of enabling disadvantaged learners to acquire and improve academic skills and to develop habits and attitudes needed to cope more effectively with everyday problems.

During the 1972-73 school year, 20 kindergarten classes, each staffed by a certificated teacher and an aide, enrolled 371 pupils. At the end of the year, scores on the Metropolitan Readiness Test fell in the A-C categories for 63% of the pupils.

Readiness classes developed for the immature 6-year old child provide a year of experiences and activities designed to "ready" the child for the formal first grade the following year. 381 pupils were enrolled in 25 classes. End of year testing, using the Metropolitan Readiness Test, indicates that 86% of the children had scores falling in the A-C category and on this basis should be successful in first grade.

The developmental reading program in which 4043 pupils from grades 2-8 participated supplements the regular reading program and provides an opportunity for poor readers to have individualized instruction at their own reading level. The 51 teachers located in 52 schools have an average load of approximately 80 pupils who are seen in groups ranging from 10 to 20. Pre and Post testing using appropriate forms of the Metropolitan Reading Tests show a mean gain for all pupils of .9 in Word Knowledge, 1.0 in Reading and .9 in Total Reading. At the high school level, 663 pupils were enrolled in grades 9-11. Extremely disabled readers, with long histories of frustration and failure, 410 of this group present for Pre and Post testing began the year with a mean grade score of 4.8 in Vocabulary (California Test of Basic Skills) and 4.6 in Comprehension.

End of the year mean scores were 5.3 and 4.8 respectively. Progress as measured by achievement tests has been poor. However, data included in case studies written by teachers, and questionnaires completed by students, reflect changes in attitude which are significant but which cannot be measured objectively. 650 9th and 10th grade pupils in 5 schools were enrolled in the Writing Lab Program. Progress as reported by pupils and teachers was significant. Skills developed in the Writing Lab enabled pupils to meet subject matter requirements in other areas more effectively, thus improving grades and attitudes toward school and learning in general.

The Basic Skills program provides a "growing place" for boys and girls lost and stunted in the regular classroom who have more than the average number of learning, emotional and/or social problems. These youngsters get individual help in basic reading, numbers, and communication skills for approximately one-half day in the Basic Skills room. The remainder of the day, they "travel" with their peers and another group of disadvantaged problem learners come to the Basic Skills room. This year 570 pupils in grades 1-8 participated in this program in 18 schools. The mean gain in Total Reading for 313 students in grades 3-8 present for Pre and Post testing using CTBS, was .7.

Mathematics improvement is a goal in the Basic Skills program at elementary level and in the Mathematics program in high school. The mean grade score gain in Total Arithmetic (CTBS) for 304 Basic Skills pupils in grades 3-8 was .6. 450 pupils in 6 schools, working with 6 teachers and 2 teacher assistants, participated in the high school math program. Students came to the Math Lab for assistance with work which they could not handle adequately in the regular Math class. Review, practice, reinforcement and support on an individualized basis enabled a number of these pupils to return to the regular class and perform successfully. A median raw score gain of 3.4 on Cooperative Arithmetic tests administered Pre and Post was reported at the end of the year.

PAL, a cross age tutorial program developed for pupils in grades 3-5 and staffed by 7th and 8th grade students working under the direction of 5 supervising PAL teachers serving 26 schools, enrolled 392 tutorees and 402 tutors. On Pre and Post testing, using the Slosson Oral Reading Test, the mean gain for tutorees was 1.1.

SOS, another cross age tutorial program in which older disabled readers helped younger disabled readers, thus differing from PAL, in which older able readers assist younger poor readers, enrolled 249 pupils, 131 younger and 118 older. Mean grade score gain on SORT at the end of the year for 100 pupils Pre and Post tested was 1.2 for the younger pupils and 1.0 for the older. Four teachers working in 8 schools served the pupils in this program.

Support personnel undergird and provide services to assist the various components of the program in reaching their goals. The elementary counselors working in 55 Title I schools, administered 5303 individual mental tests (495 Binet - 4808 Slosson). They reported having 2322 child conferences, 1119 parent conferences, and 3321 conferences with teachers. The two Title I nurses reported screening 1667 children for visual acuity. 781 hearing tests were given. They referred 118 pupils to clinics, made 53 follow-up visits and had conferences with students and teachers concerning student health problems.

More than one thousand contacts are reported for the two Title I visiting teachers. These contacts include initial and follow-up home visits, conferences with teachers and with pupils. In addition to working with attendance and conduct problems, the visiting teachers assisted poverty level families in securing food, clothing and transportation.

ALABAMA EDUCATION STUDY COMMISSION (AESC)

REPORT ON STUDENT PERFORMANCE AND PER CENT OF EXPECTANCY

Comments from Dr. B. D. Whetstone, as reported in the Birmingham News of 7/31/73:

While Dr. Whetstone was working on the AESC report, he attended several nationwide education conferences, at which considerable concern was expressed that achievement test scores are to a great extent a reflection of a person's economic and social background.

"The evidence was pretty strong that high test (scores) were made in school systems where the students were from families with higher economic and social status. In fact, the tests not only reflected what the schools had done but what the parents had done for the child."

Several states were building into the test scores socio-economic factors if they appeared to be affecting student performance. Whetstone became interested and decided to do the same for Alabama. "I boiled down from about twenty-five possible factors, five that definitely seemed to be influencing the Alabama scores. These included:

> the wealth of the community, based on assessed evaluation of property;
> the amount of income tax paid by the area served by the school system;
> the percentage of the population earning more than $10,000 annually;
> the percentage of the population earning $3,000 or less annually;
> and the white-black ratio."

He used a mathematical formula to determine how much each factor reduced or increased test scores and came up with an "expectancy table," which showed how a school should be ranked in comparison with the national norm considering the number of strikes against it for attaining that norm.

Whetstone feels raw achievement test data often puts school systems "in a bad light when actually they are doing an extraordinary job, considering the odds with which they have to work."

"I think it's been conclusively proven that the schools can bring achievement test scores up only so far. The rest has to be done by raising the economic status of the community."

JKC
Guidance Dept.
B'ham Schools
August 1973

ALABAMA EDUCATION STUDY COMMISSION

STUDENT PERFORMANCE AND PER CENT OF EXPECTANCY

Based on 1971-1972 California Achievement Test Results

	READING			LANGUAGE			MATHEMATICS		
	Average Grade Level	Weighted Average Grade Level	Per Cent of Expectancy	Average Grade Level	Weighted Average Grade Level	Per Cent of Expectancy	Average Grade Level	Weighted Average Grade Level	Per Cent of Expectancy
4TH GRADE	3.8*	3.4	110*	4.2*	3.1	135*	4.1*	3.2	129*
8TH GRADE	6.7	5.7	118	6.5	6.0	108	6.7	6.5	103
11TH GRADE	9.2	8.3	111	8.4	7.6	111	8.6	8.1	106

*Average Grade Level and Per Cent of Expectancy for the 4th Grade not reported by the Alabama Education Study Commissio
Weighted Average Grade Level for the 4th Grade for 1971-1972 was reported by the AESC.
Average Grade Level for the 4th Grade is based on the April 1973 California Achievement Test results and was furnishe
by the State Department of Education.
Per cent of expectancy for the 4th Grade was computed by using the April 1973 achievement test results reported by th
SDE and the Weighted Average Grade Level furnished by the AESC.

especially in the Southern region, that traditionally the color of a man's skin has imposed a great inhibiting impact on his economic and social opportunities. Therefore, the following page should be considered with a respectful regard for its validity when looking at Birmingham Achievement scores.

It has already been described that Birmingham has a reasonably good municipal income in spite of a vast exodus of upper income White families, that many White children in Birmingham attend private schools, school funds are unevenly allocated, and that the city is becoming heavily populated with minority citizens. Given these conditions one could easily predict that as a whole student achievement is below the national norm, and that within the city itself the predominantly Black schools would yield lower achievement results than predominantly White schools.

The second insert indicates the expected performance levels of Alabama students on the California Achievement Test at the 8th and 11th grades, based on the results of the study reported on the page preceding it. For example, the national norm for 8th graders would be about 8.1 in Reading, Language and Mathematics subtests. However, for Alabama students the average norms on these three subtests are 6.7, 6.5 and 6.7. These figures indicate that, given the income and minority status of Alabama, Alabama students who perform more than one grade level below the national norm are still doing as well as could be expected given their status as citizens of Alabama.

A summary sheet is provided that shows the results of the 8th grade students on the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test taken in September of 1973.

Also included is a summary of all 8th grades showing the average of all subtests of the California Achievement Test by school and their rank compared to each other. These summaries were distributed to each elementary school. Upon close inspection one finds that the average of all subtests ranked from 1 to 20 is 9.20 to 7.17. These average results are higher than that expected of students in Alabama as a whole. Seven of these schools have all White enrollments, ten have more than 90% White enrollment, two have 80-90% White enrollment and one has a 70% White enrollment. Three of the all Black schools ranked from 29 to 39, the highest average being 6.50 which is about what is expected in Alabama. Eighteen other all Black schools and twelve having 90% or more Black enrollments ranked from 40.5 to 74 and had average results from 6.04 to 4.44. Clearly then, these achievement results indicate that greater percentages of minority students in schools is related to lower achievement. Information was not secured to suggest that family income levels are in fact highly related to the levels of students' performance although one could easily speculate that such is the case. Also, one could suggest that zoning has done litte to distribute students in a manner that has provided better educational opportunities for the poor and minorities. Two more observations can be inserted here: (1) The unequal apportioning of school budgets could be a factor that accounts for some of the lowest achieving schools being so equipped that the teaching materials are inadequate, and (2) as a number of minority persons indicated in interviews, that the best Black teachers had been assigned to predominantly White school and the poorest White teachers has been assigned to predominantly Black schools.

[illegible]
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST, GRADE 8, SEPTEMBER 1973

AVERAGE OF SUBTESTS BY SCHOOL

The first column gives the name of the school. The second column is the average grade placement score of all of the subtest grade placements for each school: Reading Vocabulary, Reading Comprehension, Mathematics: Computation, Mathematics: Concepts, Language: Mechanics, Usage and Structure, and Spelling. The third column provides the rank of the school on the achievement test compared with other elementary schools in Birmingham.

National Norm: 8.1

Note: The average grade scores for Robinson School and Central Park School include the 8th grade enrichment classes in those schools.

School	Average of all Subtests	Rank
Arthur	7.87	13
Avondale	7.77	15
Baker	6.34	33
Barrett	6.80	25.5
Brown	7.91	12
Bush	6.85	24
Calloway	5.47	46.5
Center Street	6.04	40.5
Central Park	8.04	8
Christian	8.60	2
Comer	7.95	9.5
Councill	4.61	71
Curry	6.24	37
Davis	5.30	57
Dupuy	5.64	45
Eagan	5.47	46.5
Elyton	6.42	32
Fairmont	6.80	25.5
Fairview	7.81	14
Finley Avenue	4.80	66
Gate City	5.72	44
Gibson	6.60	28
Glen Iris	7.00	22
Going	8.41	5
Gorgas	6.31	35
Graymont	5.34	55
Green Acres	7.47	18
Hemphill	6.30	36
Hill	5.41	52
Holman	7.74	16
Hudson	4.81	65

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

READING SKILLS OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS IN THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS SHOWN ON THE READING COMPREHENSION SECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Date of Test: September 1973

National Grade Placement: 8.1

Mean Grade Equivalent of Birmingham City Students: 6.7

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The frequency distribution of scores made by 8th grade students in the Birmingham Public Schools on the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Tests show that:

1. 71 percent, or 3,468 students, were reading below the national norm for 8th grade pupils.
2. 1,675 students, or 34 percent (more than one-third of the 8th grade students enrolled in the Birmingham Public Schools) were reading on a 4th grade level and below.
3. 9 percent, or 422 students, were reading at 8th grade level.
4. 21 percent, or 1,013 students, were reading above 8th grade level.

Total number of 8th grade students in the Birmingham City Schools who took the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test in September 1973, 4,903.

School	Average of all Subtests	Rank
Huffman	8.56	3
Inglenook	6.77	27
Jackson	5.22	59
Jones Valley	5.74	42.5
Kennedy	6.44	31
Kingston	5.32	56
Lakeview	6.20	38
Lee	7.12	21
Lewis	4.70	69
Lincoln	5.11	61
McArthur	5.40	53
McCaw	5.17	60
McElwain	9.20	1
Minor	7.17	20
North Birmingham	5.00	63
North Roebuck	7.93	11
Northside	4.07	75
Norwood	5.42	50
Oliver	5.74	42.5
Patterson	5.42	50
Powderly	5.02	62
Powell	5.37	54
Pratt	4.70	69
Price	7.37	19
Princeton	4.98	64
Putnam	8.47	4
Riggins	4.55	72
Riley	6.50	29
Robinson	8.16	7
Scott	6.04	40.5
Sherman Heights	6.12	39
Shields	5.42	50
Smith	7.95	9.5
South East Lake	7.69	17
Spaulding	4.70	69
Tuggle	5.28	58
Tuxedo	4.44	74
Washington	4.78	67
West Center Street	6.48	30
Whatley	4.50	73
Wilkerson	5.45	48
Wilson	6.88	23
Wright	8.17	6
Wylam	6.32	34

JKC
4/1/74

The following insert entitled, Comparison of Three Reading Programs Used in the Birmingham Public Schools, 1972-1973, gives a summary of first grade students' deviation IQ's and their reading achievement as measured by the Gates MacGinities Reading Test. Presumably, this summary is intended in some way to illustrate the effectiveness of the three reading programs, although the summary sheet fails to indicate such. It should be pointed out that those classes using the Ginn 360 program were from schools having a percentage of Black students ranging from 55% to 100%. According to the 8th grade results previously reported, these schools ranked from 38 to 57 as compared to other elementary schools. The classes using the Harcourt Brace program and having the highest IQ's and mean percentile reading score were represented by two all White, one 90% White, one 90% Black and one all Black school. The eighth grade rankings of the three predominantly White schools were 9, 11, and 18. Only one of the Black schools appeared in the eighth grade rankings and it was number 50. Those classes using the Scott Foresman series were also heavily weighted with White pupils, however, incidence of White pupils was less than in those classes using the Harcourt Brace program where there were five schools which were 70% or more White and three schools which were 80% or more Black. It appears that these IQ and achievement results probably are biased by economic and racial variables such that their comparison is useless in terms of evaluating reading programs.

All other achievement and mental abilities results are included in the following pages. Since they were given in each school in the district suffice it to say that these results reflect a 59% Black participation in the elementary grades and 69% Black participation in the high schools. As these results are reported well they can serve the role of being self-explanatory.

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

COMPARISON OF THREE READING PROGRAMS

USED IN THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1972-1973

Reading Programs:

1. Ginn 360 Program
2. Harcourt Brace Bookmark Program
3. Scott Foresman System

Tests Administered:

1. Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Test, Primary II (for the first half of Grade 1), given in October 1972.
2. Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test, Primary A (for Grade 1), given first week of May 1973.

   Vocabulary, 15 minutes
   Comprehension, 25 minutes

Variables:

1. Quality of instruction (skill of teacher)
2. Background of students (readiness for 1st Grade)
3. Number of students in class
4. Test administration and scoring:
   a. Teacher preparation
   b. Accuracy in scoring and in converting raw scores

SUMMARY:

Name of Program	Number of Classes	Number of Students	Median DIQ* of Students	Median Composite Standard Score on Reading Test**	Mean Composite Standard Score on Reading Test**	%-ile for Mean Composite Standard Score
Ginn 360	11	294	87	41	42.1	21
Harcourt Brace	9	251	97	50	48.8	46
Scott Foresman	20	491	95	48	47.6	42

*Based on the Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Test
**Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF LOCAL RIGHT TO READ PILOT SCHOOL SITES

(1) Evidence that many students in the Birmingham Public Schools have a reading problem is shown by results of the city-wide testing programs. According to test scores, third grade students in May 1973 on the average were reading some seven months below the national norm; 11th grade students on the average in October 1972 were reading two years below the national norm.

Name of test	Grade	Date of Test	Actual Grade Placement	Grade Equivalent for Paragraph Meaning (or Reading Comprehension	Deviation from National Norm
Metropolitan Reading Test	3	May 1973	3.8	3.1 (Median)	-0.7
California Achievement Test	4	April 1973	4.7	3.6 (Mean)	-1.1
Stanford Achievement Test	5	April 1973	5.7	4.4 (Mean)	-1.3
Stanford Achievement Test	6	April 1973	6.7	5.2 (Mean)	-1.5
Stanford Achievement Test	7	April 1973	7.7	5.9 (Mean)	-1.8
California Achievement Test	8	Oct. 1972	8.1	6.7 (Mean)	-1.4
California Achievement Test	11	Oct. 1972	11.1	9.1 (Mean)	-2.0

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

RESULTS OF

METROPOLITAN READING TEST

THIRD GRADE

SEPTEMBER 1972 AND MAY 1973

NUMBER TESTED		NATIONAL NORM GRADE PLACEMENT		BIRMINGHAM MEDIAN GRADE PLACEMENT		DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORM		GAIN
Sept. 1972	May 1973	Sept. 1972	May 1973	Sept. 1972	May 1973	Sept. 1972	May 1973	
3,980	4,382	3.0	3.8	2.4	3.1	-0.6	-0.7	0.7

Fall Testing In the first quartile (bottom 25%) 995 students were reading at 2.0 grade level and below; in the third quartile (top 25%) 995 students were reading at 2.9 grade placement and above.

Spring Testing In the first quartile (bottom 25%) 1,095 students were reading at 2.5 grade level and below; in the third quartile (top 25%) 1,095 students were reading at 3.8 grade placement and above.

READING SKILLS OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS IN THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As Shown on the Reading Comprehension Section of the California Achievement Test

Date of test: April 1973

National Grade Placement: 4.7

Mean Grade Equivalent of Birmingham City Students: 3.6

The frequency distribution of scores made by 4th grade students in the Birmingham Public Schools on the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test shows that:

1. 60 per cent, or 2,685 students, scored below the national norm for 4th grade pupils.

   1,514 students, or 34 per cent of the total number of 4th grade pupils who took the test, scored 2nd grade or below on the test.
2. 15 per cent, or 678 students, scored at the 4th grade level.
3. 25 per cent, or 1,097 students, scored above the 4th grade level.

Total number of 4th grade students in the Birmingham City Schools who took the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test in April 1973: 4,460.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES

READING COMPREHENSION SECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Birmingham Public Schools

FOURTH GRADE, APRIL 1973

Frequency distribution of scores, showing the number and per cent of students scoring at each grade level:

Grade Level	Number of Students	Per Cent of Students
Below 1st Grade	52	1
1st Grade	320	7
2nd Grade	1,142	26
3rd Grade	1,171	26
4th Grade	678	15
5th Grade	526	12
6th Grade	221	5
7th Grade	153	3
8th Grade and above	197	5
TOTAL	4,460	100

BIRMINGHAM : LIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

MEAN SCORES FOR APRIL 1973

GRADE 4

	NATIONAL NORN GRADE PLACEMENT	STATE MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT	BIRMINGHAM MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT	DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORM	DEVIATION FROM STATE NORM
READING:					
VOCABULARY	4.7	3.8	3.6	-1.1	-0.2
COMPREHENSION	4.7	3.9	3.6	-1.1	-0.3
MATHEMATICS:					
COMPUTATION	4.7	4.3	4.3	-0.4	0
CONCEPTS & PROBLEMS	4.7	3.8	3.5	-1.2	-0.3
LANGUAGE:					
MECHANICS	4.7	4.2	4.2	-0.5	0
USAGE & STRUCTURE	4.7	3.7	3.7	-1.0	0
SPELLING	4.7	4.0	4.0	-0.7	0

JKC
6/20/73

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

BIRMINGHAM AVERAGES 1968 - 1973

		Gr. Pl.	Word Mean.	Dev.	Par. Mean.	Dev.	Sp.	Dev.	WSS	Dev.	Lang	Dev.	Arith. Comp.	Dev.	Arith. Conc.	Dev.	Arith. Appl.	Dev.
Gr. 5	Nov 1968	5.2	4.3	- .9	4.1	-1.1	4.4	- .8	3.7	-1.5	4.1	-1.1	4.1	-1.1	4.2	-1.0	4.3	- .9
	Nov 1969	5.3	4.3	-1.0	4.3	-1.0	4.6	- .7	3.7	-1.6	4.2	-1.1	4.4	- .9	4.3	-1.0	4.3	-1.0
	Nov 1970	5.2	4.3	- .9	4.2	-1.0	4.5	- .7	3.6	-1.6	4.1	-1.1	4.2	-1.0	4.3	- .9	4.2	-1.0
	Nov 1971	5.2	4.2	-1.0	4.2	-1.0	4.5	- .7	3.7	-1.5	4.0	-1.2	4.2	-1.0	4.1	-1.1	4.1	-1.1
	Apr 1973	5.7	4.6	-1.1	4.4	-1.3	5.1	- .6	NG		4.5	-1.2	4.6	-1.1	4.8	- .9	4.5	-1.2
Gr. 6	Nov 1968	6.2	4.9	-1.3	4.9	-1.3	5.4	- .8			4.9	-1.3	4.8	-1.4	5.1	-1.1	4.9	-1.3
	Nov 1969	6.3	5.0	-1.3	4.9	-1.4	5.5	- .8			5.0	-1.3	5.0	-1.3	5.1	-1.2	4.9	-1.4
	Nov 1970	6.2	4.9	-1.3	4.9	-1.3	5.3	- .9			4.8	-1.4	4.9	-1.3	5.0	-1.2	4.8	-1.4
	Nov 1971	6.2	5.0	-1.2	4.9	-1.3	5.4	- .8			4.8	-1.4	5.0	-1.2	5.0	-1.2	4.9	-1.3
	Apr 1973	6.7	5.0	-1.7	5.2	-1.5	5.6	-1.1			5.0	-1.7	5.1	-1.6	5.3	-1.4	5.1	-1.6
Gr. 7	Nov 1968	7.2			5.7	-1.5	6.7	- .5			6.0	-1.2	5.4	-1.8	5.9	-1.3	6.0	-1.2
	Nov 1969	7.3			5.7	-1.6	6.6	- .7			5.9	-1.4	5.3	-2.0	5.9	-1.4	5.9	-1.4
	Nov 1970	7.2			5.6	-1.6	6.5	- .7			5.8	-1.4	5.3	-1.9	5.9	-1.3	5.9	-1.3
	Nov 1971	7.2			5.6	-1.6	6.6	- .6			5.7	-1.5	5.4	-1.8	5.9	-1.3	5.9	-1.3
	Apr 1973	7.7			5.9	-1.8	6.9	- .8			5.8	-1.9	5.7	-2.0	6.2	-1.5	6.2	-1.5

READING SKILLS OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS IN THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As Shown on the Reading Comprehension Section of the California Achievement Test

Date of test: October 1972

National Grade Placement: 8.1

Mean Grade Equivalent of Birmingham City Students: 6.7

The frequency distribution of scores made by 8th grade students in the Birmingham Public Schools on the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Tests shows that:

1. 70 per cent, or 3,604 students, were reading below the national norm for 8th grade pupils.

   1,678 students, or 32 per cent (almost one third of the 8th grade students enrolled in the Birmingham Public Schools) were reading on a 4th grade level and below.

2. 8 per cent, or 430 students, were reading at 8th grade level.
3. 22 per cent, or 1,144 students, were reading above 8th grade level.

Total number of 8th grade students in the Birmingham City Schools who took the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test in October 1972: 5,178.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES

READING COMPREHENSION SECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Birmingham Public Schools

Eighth Grade, October 1972

Frequency distribution of scores, showing the number and per cent of students scoring at each grade level:

Grade Level	Number of Students	Per Cent of Students
Below 2nd Grade	78	2
2nd Grade	397	8
3rd Grade	413	8
4th Grade	790	15
5th Grade	728	14
6th Grade	457	9
7th Grade	741	14
8th Grade	430	8
9th Grade	383	7
10th Grade	381	7
11th Grade	154	3
12th Grade	99	2
13th Grade	127	3
TOTAL	5,178	100

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

MEAN SCORES FOR OCTOBER 1971 AND OCTOBER 1972

GRADE 8

	NATIONAL NORM GRADE PLACEMENT		STATE MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT		BIRMINGHAM MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT		DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORM		DEVIATION FROM STATE NORM	
	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972
READING:										
VOCABULARY	8.1	8.1	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	-1.6	-1.6	±0	±0
COMPREHENSION	8.1	8.1	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.7	-1.4	-1.4	±0	±0
MATHEMATICS:										
COMPUTATION	8.1	8.1	6.8	6.6	6.6	6.6	-1.5	-1.5	-0.2	±0
CONCEPTS & PROBLEMS	8.1	8.1	7.0	6.8	6.5	6.5	-1.6	-1.6	-0.5	-0.3
LANGUAGE:										
MECHANICS	8.1	8.1	5.8	5.6	5.8	5.8	-2.3	-2.3	±0	+0.2
USAGE & STRUCTURE	8.1	8.1	6.2	6.7	6.7	7.2	-1.4	-0.9	+0.5	+0.5
SPELLING	8.1	8.1	6.7	6.7	7.0	7.0	-1.1	-1.1	+0.3	+0.3

JKC
6/20/73

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

ANNUAL REPORT REGARDING THE OTIS-LENNON MENTAL ABILITY TESTS GIVEN IN HIGH SCHOOLS DURING SCHOOL YEAR 1972-73

The Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Test, Forms J and K, was made available to high school counselors to be used for aptitude testing of pupils in three semesters. This was put on an optional basis to meet the needs of the individual school. Twelve of the high schools took advantage of this testing. The total number tested was 4,594. The tests were administered by the high school counselors and raw scores converted into IQ scores by the staff of the Guidance Department. Test results were recorded in duplicate; one copy was sent to the individual school and one copy kept for our files.

The attached sheets give the results of the tests in tabular form. The median scores of the schools (in alphabetical order) are as follows:

SCHOOL	MEDIAN IQ		GRADE TESTED
Banks	101	(90% White)	9
Carver	81	(All Black)	9
Ensley	96	(70% White)	9
Ensley	95	(70% White)	10
Glenn	87	(70% Black)	9
Hayes	80	(All Black)	9
Huffman	106	(97% White)	9
Jones Valley	89	(55% Black)	9
Parker	83	(All Black)	9
Phillips	85	(95% Black)	9
Ramsay	90	(65% Black)	9
West End	89	(70% Black)	9
Western	82	(All Black)	9
Woodlawn	Did not administer test this year		

READING SKILLS OF TENTH GRADE STUDENTS IN THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As Shown on the Reading Comprehension Section of the California Achievement Test

Date of Test: April, 1973

National Grade Placement: 10.7

Mean Grade Equivalent of Birmingham City Students: 8.2

- -

The frequency distribution of scores made by 10th grade students in the Birmingham Public Schools on the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test shows that:

1. 68 percent, or 3,005 students, were reading below the national norm for 10th grade pupils.
    (a) 1746 students, or 39 per cent, were reading on a 6th grade level and below.
    (b) 866 students, or 19 percent of the tenth grade students, had scores which were on a 4th grade level or below.
2. 9 per cent, or 420 students, were reading at 10th grade level.
3. 23 per cent, or 1,017 students, had scores above the 10th grade level.

Total number of 10th grade students in the Birmingham Public Schools who took the Reading Comprehension Section of the California Achievement Test in April 1973 - Total 4,442.

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

MEAN SCORES FOR APRIL 1973

GRADE 10

	NATIONAL NORM GRADE PLACEMENT	STATE MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT	BIRMINGHAM MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT	DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORM	DEVIATION FROM STATE NORM
READING:					
VOCABULARY	10.7	8.9	8.5	-2.2	-0.4
COMPREHENSION	10.7	9.1	8.2	-2.5	-0.9
MATHEMATICS:					
COMPUTATION	10.7	8.5	8.1	-2.6	-0.4
CONCEPTS & PROBLEMS	10.7	9.0	8.2	-2.5	-0.8
LANGUAGE:					
MECHANICS	10.7	8.1	7.4	-3.3	-0.7
USAGE & STRUCTURE	10.7	9.7	8.1	-2.6	-1.6
SPELLING	10.7	8.8	7.8	-2.9	-1.0

READING SKILLS OF ELEVENTH GRADE STUDENTS IN THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS

As Shown on the Reading Comprehension Section of the California Achievement Test

Date of test: October 1972

National Grade Placement: 11.1

Mean Grade Equivalent of Birmingham City Students: 9.1

The frequency distribution of scores made by 11th grade students in the Birmingham Public Schools on the Reading Comprehension section of the California Achievement Test shows that:

1. *71 per cent, or 3,019 students, were reading below the national norm for 11th grade pupils.*

   1,352 students, or 32 per cent (almost one third of the 11th grade pupils enrolled in the Birmingham Public Schools) were reading on a 6th grade level and below.

   627 students, or 15 per cent of the 11th grade students, had scores which were on a 4th grade level or below.
2. *6 per cent, or 277 students, were reading at 11th grade level.*
3. *23 per cent, or 978 students, had scores above the 11th grade level.*

Total number of 11th grade students in the Birmingham City Schools who took the Reading Comprehension Section of the California Achievement Test in October 1972: 4,274.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES

READING COMPREHENSION SECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Birmingham Public Schools

ELEVENTH GRADE, OCTOBER 1972

Frequency distribution of scores, showing the number and per cent of students scoring at each grade level:

Grade Level	Number of students	Per Cent of Students
Below 2nd Grade	7	Less than 1
2nd Grade	73	2
3rd Grade	253	6
4th Grade	294	7
5th Grade	374	9
6th Grade	351	8
7th Grade	377	9
8th Grade	360	9
9th Grade	485	11
10th Grade	445	10
11th Grade	277	6
12th Grade	384	9
13th Grade	594	14
TOTAL	4,274	100

BIRMINGHAM . JLIC SCHOOLS
GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT

CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

MEAN SCORES FOR OCTOBER 1971 AND OCTOBER 1972

GRADE 11

	NATIONAL NORM GRADE PLACEMENT		STATE MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT		BIRMINGHAM MEAN GRADE PLACEMENT		DEVIATION FROM NATIONAL NORM		DEVIATION FROM STATE NORM	
	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972	Oct. 1971	Oct. 1972
READING:										
VOCABULARY	11.1	11.1	9.3	9.3	8.9	8.9	-2.2	-2.2	-0.4	-0.4
COMPREHENSION	11.1	11.1	9.5	9.5	9.1	9.1	-2.0	-2.0	-0.4	-0.4
MATHEMATICS:										
COMPUTATION	11.1	11.1	8.7	8.7	8.5	8.5	-2.6	-2.6	-0.2	-0.2
CONCEPTS & PROBLEMS	11.1	11.1	9.0	8.7	8.7	8.5	-2.4	-2.6	-0.3	-0.2
LANGUAGE:										
MECHANICS	11.1	11.1	8.3	8.3	7.9	7.9	-3.2	-3.2	-0.4	-0.4
USAGE & STRUCTURE	11.1	11.1	9.7	9.7	8.9	8.9	-2.2	-2.2	-0.8	-0.8
SPELLING	11.1	11.1	9.4	9.4	9.4	9.4	-1.7	-1.7	±0	±0

JKC
6/20/73

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS TOWARD PLAN, PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Chapter V, like Chapter IV, is concerned with programs and practices incident to desegregation but with a greater emphasis on perceptions of faculty, staff and students. This section is more directly concerned with their impressions of how informed they were of the latest plan, their role, and how the plan has been implemented.

The Plan

Teachers' Perceptions

Forty teachers from the 12 schools included in this study were interviewed, 29 at the elementary school level and 11 at the high school level. Since their degree of involvement in the zoning plan had little relation to grade level or elementary or secondary status, this interview data is reported as a single group. The questions asked and the responses are listed below:

1. How were you involved in the desegregation plan?
   Not involved, affected by, or just reassigned - 30
   Volunteered to go to another school - 4
   Not here at the time - 2
   Attended human relations workshops - 2
   Got a reassignment because of extensive travel - 2
   Faculty meetings as preparation for desegregation - 1

2. What problems resulted as a consequence of desegregation?
   No response - 4
   Nothing happened here - 16
   White teachers refused to leave their prior schools - 2
   There has been a decrease in student academic ability -4
   Enrollment has decreased - 2
   A high turnover of White teachers - 2
   Students now take advantage of the teachers - 1
   We have no music, art or library - 1
   There was intense racial animosity - 1
   White teachers think Black kids can't learn - 1
   The poorest White teachers were sent here - 1
   There are language barriers between mixed teachers and students - 1
   White teachers had stereotypes of Black children - 1
   Few White college graduates apply for jobs in Birmingham - 1
   The faculty is more divided than the community - 1
   White teachers didn't want to accept Black teachers as professionals - 1

3. What were some of the major concerns of the parents?
   Not aware of any or had no contact - 29
   Arbitrarity assigning of teachers at a 50-50 ratio - 2
   Fear of student hostility toward Whites - 1
   Black parents feared that White teachers would not try to help their children - 1
   Black parents feared their children would get hurt - 1
   Racially mixed children using the same bathrooms - 1
   Lower SES White parents objected the most - 1
   Just mixing children was a problem - 1
   White parents feared that contact with Blacks would socially contaminate their children - 1
   Parents came to sit in my class to see if I was fair and competent - 1
   Parents questioned the ability of Black teachers - 1
   Some White parents sent insulting notes to Black teachers - 1

4. What were some of the major concerns of the local community?
   Not aware of any, none here, and no response - 38
   Private schools were opened - 1
   One school was picketed - 1

5. What does the school do to promote racial interaction?
   Either all White or all Black school, nothing and no response - 35
   It is left to the individual classroom to do something - 1
   A few rap sessions and one student banquet - 1
   Conducted a character building program - 1
   Try to do something in faculty meetings
   (an all Black student enrollment) - 1
   Try to get parents committed to PTA - 1

These responses support the information reported elsewhere in this document which indicated that the articulation of the paln was primarily one-way, from the administrative level, that the parents were more involved than teachers through the neighborhood meetings, that only a few teachers were involved in the human relations program, that little has been done at the individual school level to improve race relations, and that those interviewees who were most outspoken did suggest a variety of problems existed but have resulted in very few physical or forceful consequences.

Counselors' Perceptions

The six high school counselors who were interviewed indicated that they were somewhat familiar with the desegregation plan. They had become familiar with the plan primarily through conversations with colleagues and newspaper and radio information. They too indicated that teachers had been involved in the plan on a selective basis and that a few of the schools had sent representatives to be involved in its development. The major teacher concerns were directed toward potential conflicts with students of the opposite race; administrators indicated that they would support the teachers in order to tone down this concern. The administration responded to community concerns by conducting neighborhood rap sessions and through the PTA meetings. A few said that expressed concerns were ignored by the district school officials.

All agreed that their schools are essentially doing nothing special to facilitate integration.

Community Persons' Perceptions

Although attempts were made to arrange some group interviews with parents, these efforts were unsuccessful. The general rational was given that parents had invested so much energy during the past decade over this issue that the prevailing attitude is to now accept desegregation and to withdraw as much as possible from its discussion. Thus the only interview data collected from the community level comes from three Black spokesmen, two affiliated with the NAACP and the third a minister.

Most of the discussion centered around conflicts, sit-ins, demonstrations, etc that occured during the early 1960's. However, some information was obtained that is directed toward the current plan and its effectiveness. A summary of these findings follows:

It was agreed that during the time of the zoning plan the rough days were a thing of the past. During the drawing up of the zoning plan there was some degree of concern expressed by Black parents over the arbitrary establishment of zone lines that created inconvenient distances for their children to travel. White parents expressed a concern that the quality of the schools would diminish after they were integrated.

In terms of their expression of current concerns these three individuals revealed a variety of issues and spoke of them with varying degrees of intensity. The following concerns will be categorized according to the speaker.

Number 1 - "I don't seem to hear them (Black parents) talking about a whole lot of things. They are concerned about drop-outs and students becoming disenchanted with schools. Some White teachers haven't learned to relate to Blacks and some aren't trying. Some don't want to be in predominantly Black schools. They appear to be unhappy and they take it out on the Black students. The predominantly Black schools are getting poor White teachers. On the other hand, the predominantly Black schools are losing some of their best teachers to White schools. All of this is a part of the drop-out problem."

"The State still has not been effective in setting up human relations programs. They are still resisting and footdragging. Birmingham is ready to go, but the State is still prohibiting certain things."

"It looks like the Black principals' hands are tied when it comes to dealing with White teachers."

"Blacks are excluded form many social situations and others have been taken out of the schools. Some issues have concerned majorettes and the election of all White class officers in __________ and ______________ high schools."

"The PTA is integrated but not taking any bold steps to deal with the school problems."

He felt that a strength lies in the fact that there are two Blacks on the Board of Education who are aware of the problems. Because of their presence the situation has been helped. He continued to say, with respect to the two Black city council members, "We have a few people in legitimate places. That makes the situation look a little hopeful." Also he mentioned another hopeful sign, Operation Birmingham, which has equal proportions of Blacks and Whites who deal with some of the problems of the city. When asked about the new superintendent, he responded, "I don't know too much about him. I read about his new program. I am kind of skeptical about it. They are concerned about Blacks teaching Whites. As long as Blacks were teaching Blacks, everything was allowed."

Number 2 - This interviewee also spoke of the inequity of transferring the best Black and poorest White teachers. In addition he said that with respect to parent concerns, such concerns depend "on the area in which schools are located and the kinds of staffs that are there. There are some communities with very few problems" (e.g. some are less hostile, the principal is fair and honest, the teachers realize this is the law and they may as well accept it). He indicated that he had been well received as a speaker in a predominantly White school. He also said that when Black kids were demonstrating at a high school the principal called him to help get the kids back in class; a grievance list was drawn up and they went back in. He further stated that "Most problems occur when it is hot wehater and during election time," and that there should be some ratio established at each school for a percentage of students equal to the minority enrollment to participate in clubs, offices, activities, etc.

"Black kids in the high schools are very, very belligerent. They resent White teachers and carry a chip on their shoulders. We have to get them to behave for Whites as they do Blacks. There are only a few occasions when there are problems with Whites not respecting Black teachers."

"There are going to be more plans around designing the curriculum of individuals around what their future plans are" (kids that want to go to college will get college prep courses, etc.). "They will have inservice workshops to train teachers to more adequately deal with students around their needs."

Number 3 - He expressed concerns over the drop-out rate of Black students and the transferring of the best Black and poorest White teachers. Along this line he said, "Black teachers knew the problems of Blacks and inspired them to achieve. Whereas, White teachers try to denigrate Black sudents and compare them with middle-class Whites. Many Blacks thought that White teachers were better qualified because of their preparation and education. Now, they know that this is but a dream." Also, "Black educators have lost esteem in Black neighborhoods since Blacks now have to go across the tracks to school. White teachers are so concerned about making it through the day that they are teaching Blacks that the system is working for them as well as for Whites. So a lot of Blacks are finishing and becoming disillusioned when they find that the opportunities are not there."

"There are many concerns, but little action because there is a lack of power. In the past there was only lay power (boycotts, demonstrations). But this only stimulated the establishment (police) to counter with more weapons. Also the Black lay demonstrators are disillusioned; they see no progress; they are still making minimum wages. The Black leaders, however, are satisfied. Whites are now appointing Black leaders (cooptation), but only to powerless boards and commissions. Our only hope is in the new leaders returning from colleges, army, etc. Also, the middle-class Black who now is making a decent wage may feel that he is comfortable and doesn't want to 'rock the boat'. Whites have very cleverly allowed for Blacks to move into very wealthy neighborhoods as a device to coopt. Race is used as a device to exploit the poor."

How Is The Plan Working

Counselors and teachers were asked: "In general, how successful would you say the integration efforts have been in your school?" Samples of their answers follow:

Counselors:

"The desegregation plan is working in Birmingham and in the ____________ school as well."

"Student interaction and rapport is good to a certain extent. Groups tend to pull together in a natural way. With the faculty it is pretty good but there is still a pulling away."

"Blacks are not represented much in school leadership positions or extracurriculars."

"There are good student-teacher relationships."

"I think that students in grade ten and above are not place in classes where they can make a good living."

"Uptown (central administration) gives little support at the individual school level."

Teachers

Thirty-four of the teachers interviewed indicated that the plan was working well, fine or good. The other six responded that it was either not working or was "so-so." Examples of positive and negative responses follow:

Positive

"It works fine, but I don't always like it. Education doesn't meet the standards it once did, but I don't want to go back to segregation."

"This is a good school, and the principal is working hard to keep it that way. It's a pleasure to be here."

"It's working well, there's lots of interaction."

"Things are going smoothly, there's a normal emotional climate, but the academics are falling."

Negative

"My daughter went to a school where she was in a small minority and made good grades but she became withdrawn due to an adverse social climate. It won't work unless you have integrated housing."

"The instructional level has really declined due to poor quality of students and teachers."

"I have taught 35-36 years in Birmingham. These are the worst cultured and belligerent of all the children I've taught."

"The school is still in a position of coping with change."

"In the three years Black students have caused it to work through demonstrations and have demanded that they be given things and they have gotten them."

Key Factors in Success of Plan

Counselors and teachers alike, who indicated the plan was working well, consistently suggested three factors that had led to successful desegregation: (1) The initial preparatory sessions, (2) a good understanding between the principal and teachers with respect to the kind of support the staff could expect, and (3) the PTA and other student organizations are becoming integrated enough to include the concerns of all people.

Improving the Plan

Parents and teachers were asked to suggest recommendations that they would make if the integration process were to be done again. The few parent comments were already presented in a previous section. Briefly, they said that there need to be more Black administrators, a better apportionment of the higher quality and poorer teachers of each race, and that attitudes of White teachers toward Black students needs improvement.

A few teachers said that Birmingham did as well as could be expected and offered no recommendations. However, most did offer suggestions; a few of those follow:

The response most frequently given was like this one, "I would start in the first and second grades and slowly add the others."

"We should be integrated with a significant number of White students; the Black students lose by not having cultural contact with Whites."

"I would change the zoning procedures and consider that a student could go to any school he chooses as long as the school was not overcrowded."

"The biggest gripe for Black faculty is the fact that many of them are better qualified for supervisory positions than many of the Whites who are put in those positions."

"In the integrated schools there are no Black principals. The situation needs to be changed."

"Teachers weren't prepared properly, psychologically. A lot of insecurity resulted from the Board telling you your assignment at the last minute."

"There is needed a concerted effort for more teaching materials and teaching methods to promote a better understanding among races."

"There should be more attempts to correct White parent misconceptions about Blacks that has filtered down to their children."

"Make it a rule that parents would have to spend at least one full day in the school with their child."

"Special classes should be provided in each school for especially low and high achievers. It is unfair to the teacher for too wide a spread in abilities."

"Large classes should be avoided at all costs."

"We need more information meetings - just to discuss styles of learning, culture and knowledge about different experiences."

Social and Friendship Patterns

The preceding chapter gave some attention to the social and friendship patterns of students as perceived by the principals, teachers and counselors. Here, student responses are given. Some of these are summarized while others are verbatim. A total of 25 students from three elementary schools were interviewed and thirty from the high schools. Equal proportions of Black and White students were interviewed; they were from the 6th to the 12th.

Elementary Students - White

There was a general consensus that all have Black friends but there is no mixing outside of school. One boy said that he didn't like a Black boy in his class because he, "tells lies and is dishonest." Another White boy mentioned that a Black boy had visited his house and it was O.K. - even his mother spoke to him. A few White girls felt that they would be upset if a Black boy sat next to them, their parents would be especially upset. Another White boy said that he was the only White on the basketball team; he laughingly said that he was a token White and was treated kindly by the other players. Other interviewees felt that it was important for Black and White students to be in school together because it would help them get along when they became adults.

Elementary Students - Black

For the most part the Black students confirmed the general negative view Whites have of them. For example, one child said, "The White students are O.K. but they think they are better than we are." Another said, "We have lots of arguments. A White girl called me a nigger." A student said there are lots of fights between Blacks and Whites, but not many between Blacks and Blacks or Whites and Whites. Most students indicated that the reverse was true. Also most said that Black and White students separate themselves in the cafeteria, on the playground and at activities.

High School Students - White

In general, the majority of White interviewees seemed to resent the fact that Black students were in their school and participating in activities. In the most desegregated high school it seemed that competition from Blacks was the major issue, while in the high school with only a few Blacks the negative attitudes seemed to be based specifically in prejudice. Those who were not against Blacks being in the schools were strongly in favor of desegregation, there appeared to be no middle ground opinions expressed. One student declared, "Blacks now demand two of everything, two homecoming queens, one Black and one White; we must now have a Black majorette." At the same time a girl was obviously upset that a Black girl had not been selected as a majorette even though she was the best of all those who tried out.

There is no interracial dating at either of these two schools. One Black boy has parties attended by Whites but there is no mixed dancing. Others claimed to have close Black friends but did not visit their homes.

Some random comments follow:

"I mean everyone would be a lot happier if Blacks and Whites went to their own school. I mean I like them now but why do Blacks and Whites have to come together; if they wanted to, they just would."

"Integration is alright but I don't like to be forced into it."

Speaking of student government offices, a White boy commented, "It's ridiculous to give a colored person an office like that and a sense of power. This is a White school and the Whites should run it." A girl responded, "I don't think it matters unless that person hates White people and I don't think that's true of most colored people here." The same boy answered that he's prejudiced and feels it is the general attitude. Another student disagreed by saying that he felt it was nearer to being half are and half aren't.

"If they moved into my neighborhood, I would move out."

"They just sit back on welfare and take money from the Federal Government."

"It doesn't matter how a Black treats me, I just couldn't be friends with one. My father says that I say it too."

"My father use to say that too--but he doesn't any more."

The students also expressed a fear of Black students because they felt they are violent. In addition, they said Blacks stick together and so do Whites, they're "almost obligated to do so." Finally, some Whites compalined that they had to attend "Black" programs during Black History Week and on Martin Luther King Day.

High School Students - Black

The social and friendship attitudes of Black students toward White students are illustrated by the following comments.

"Some of them are O.K. but some of them are prejudiced, about half and half."

"We have some White friends. I have one." Only one other student said they had a White friend. Some said, "I don't have one."

"There is separation between the Blacks and Whites." Students in one school said that students segregate themselves by race in the cafeteria with the exception of one table. These students also said that the Blacks and Whites had separate proms because they could not compromise on naming a band, place, price or time.

"I don't htink you should get too close to these people (White students). All they do is tolerate you and then behind your back they talk about you."

"I get together in groups to talk about class stuff; otherwise, I don't have no White friends."

Given the attitudes previously expressed by White students, it appears as if those attitudes are perceived by the Black students and they respond according in affect and in social circumstances.

Attitude Toward School and Teachers

The same students who responded to the previous section also responded to questions relative to their feelings about their school and teachers.

Elementary Students - White

Students from two of the three schools said that they liked their school. Those who viewed their school in a negative fashion did so in a joking way as if it were too pathetic to be taken seriously as a school; for example, it had no library and the textbooks, for the most part, were ten years old. They also felt that their teachers were poor and the principal was incompetent. All expressed anxiety over not being properly prepared for high school. (Note: This school was indeed the most depressing and poorly equipped of all those our research team visited).

Students from both of the other schools indicated a dislike for the dress codes. Also, both had a new principal; one was like better than the predecessor, the other less. Both groups said that their teachers were one of the better aspects of the schools. Generally, two factors accounted for the liking of teachers - offering a variety of activities and a personal regard for the students. They indicated that Black and White teachers treated them fairly. However, like the group that disliked their school, both of these complained about having old textbooks and old library books.

Elementary Students - Black

The general impressions of the Black interviewees was the same as those of the White groups - two favorable, one unfavorable. All groups expressed that the White students were O.K. but thought they were better than Black students. They also felt that teachers were more strict with Black students. However, all liked their teachers with only a few exceptions not related to race. Only one group liked their principal.

High School Students - White

Both groups expressed that their schools were pretty good. One said that half the students who went to college had to be placed in remedial classes. The other group said that the teachers didn't seem to care much about the students. One group said the school had run down with an influx of Black students who "tear stuff up." Both felt that Blacks get away with behavior that Whites would be suspended for doing. In one school the counselors were perceived as busy workers doing scheduling, etc. while in the other they were more personally oriented. Both felt a lack of contact of students with the principal. They felt that some older Black and White teachers showed prejudice toward students. Students in one school said they got along better with Black teachers than White teachers. Some Black teachers don't understand White students and are viewed as too strict, just tying to show off their authority over White boys, but most are O.K.

High School Students - Black

The students interviewed in the all Black high school were not pleased with the educational experiences they were given. They also felt that they were being treated like younger children. One White teacher was viewed as being especially poor, even if he taught White students. However, there was some feeling expressed that the school was O.K.

Some comments about the school in general follow.

"It's alright. They need more Blacks in school. Then we'd have Black football players, cheerleaders and majorettes."

When asked, "What's wrong with White majorettes and football players?" the reply was, "They don't represent me. I have no feelings for them whatsoever. I don't even go to the basketball games. The only reason I go to the football games is because I play in the band."

"I don't like it. Everybody's prejudiced to me."

"If there were more Black students over here we could have more programs like Black History Week."

"I think it'a a good school but there are adjustments that need to be made...like our lunchroom, the food they serve is supposed to be healthy but it don't look healthy."

Both groups said they dislike their principals. When asked what kind of support he gave them they unanimously answered "none."

The following comments were made about the teachers.

"My history teacher is prejudiced all the way."

"We'll come out better with a White teacher than a Black teacher."

"Black teachers expect more of us than a White teacher."

"I got this teacher (Black), she will let a White get away with anything but let a Black do it she's all upon your back telling you what you should do and shouldn't do."

"They have some understanding teachers up here and this year they have the best counselors we've had in a good while."

"It's the older teachers who cause the trouble (Black and White)."

When speaking of good and bad teachers the common response was like this one, "it's not a color thing, some are good and some are bad."

Interview with the Superintendent

It seems appropriate to conclude this chapter with a summary of an interview with the superintendent. During the time of our field study he had held his present position for less than one year. He said that the major factors that led him to accept his assignment evolved around the progress Birmingham had made over the past decade and the sincere concern and commitment on the part of the town fathers and school board toward making the public school system one of high quality.

Some of his impressions of the effectiveness of Birmingham's desegregation plan follow. In terms of race relations he feels that a breaking down of racial stereotypes has begun. In the area of faculty desegregation, there has been considerable progress. And, from all indications, the various communities seem to be accepting desegregation passively. Although the school system is not very well balanced with respect to student enrollment, he feel that the system may be as balanced as it can be due to the characteristics of the district itself, i.e. housing patterns; shifting population from city to county; White flight; uneven growth within the city; decline in the student population due to highway and airport construction, and a declining birth rate. He also feels that the achievement has generally declined and the quality of the school system has gone down, yet there has been little pressure to improve in these areas.

He also pointed out some problems that currently exist. Some of the building facilities are in a state of disrepair, especially in the poorer neighborhoods. The annexation of a few surrounding areas is needed. And the allocation of monetary resources is unequally distributed among the schools.

Some major priorities were also summarized - a comprehensive reorganization of the district, from the administrative level on down; encourageing individualization of student instruction; and introducing a plan of continuous internal assessment. Some of these priorities are stated more specifically in outline form below.

I. Improve Quality of Instruction in all the Schools for all the Students.

   A. Accredit the Elementary Schools.

      Establishing libraries in all schools, including staff, books and equipment, reducing pupil-teacher ratios; creating an elementary guidance program; and increasing amount of per pupil expenditure.

   B. Establish an extensive staff training program.

      To provide 10 days of training for one-half the professional staff each year.

   C. Establish a "Mini-grant" program to support teacher innovations.

   D. Provide adequate time for teachers to plan instruction by varying the length of the student's day.

   E. Reduce clerical work of teachers thereby freeing time for instruction.

II. Achieve a Mastery of the Basic Skills by all Pupils.

   A. Establish a Kindergarten for all five-year olds who qualify under Federal ESEA, Title I Guidelines.

   B. Increase the amount of time devoted to basic skills instruction for those children who have difficulty with mastery.

   C. Increase teacher's abilities to teach the basic skills.

   D. Establish a special program for third graders who have not mastered the basic skills to the 2nd grade and 6 month level.

   E. Establish "Continuous Progress Instruction" as the main instructional philosophy in the school system.

III. Provide a Curriculum and Instruction Program Appropriate to Young Adolescents by Establishing Middle Schools.

IV. Modify the Curriculum of the High Schools to Increase the Range of Opportunities and Relevance to Modern Society.

A. Upgrade and extend the Career Education/Vocation Education programs available to students.

B. Establish "Service to Others" as a recognized part of the high school curriculum.

It was observed that all these recommendations are appropriate and needed. We were extremely impressed with the knowledge, intellect, and enthusiasm of this man.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS -- PLAN, PROGRAMS, PRACTICES, PROCEDURES

A Summary of Birmingham's Plan

In 1969 a decision by the United States District Court decreed that the freedom of choice plan was no longer adequate as a method for desegregating dual school systems. Consequently, Birmingham was directed to submit to the Court a plan intended to disestablish the dual school system. This directive came subsequent to Birmingham to utilize the freedom of choice plan.

The third plan, implemented in 1970 and still in effect, was developed jointly by the Birmingham Board of Education and the court's designated collaborator, the Auburn University Center for Assistance to School Systems with Problems Occasioned by Desegregation. Also, member of the NAACP and the Justice Department assisted in developing the plan before it was submitted to the court.

The proposed plan was divided into four major parts that were discussed in Chapter II and are repeated below:

Student Assignments. Birmingham continued to employ the same organizational structure consisting of elementary schools (grades 1-8) and high schools (grades 9-12). Eight previously all Black elementary schools were closed and the remaining 76 divided into attendance areas, and one previously all Black high school was closed and the city divided into 13 high school attendance areas. A provision was provided for majority-to-minority student transfers at both levels; such right to transfer dependent on the capacity of the receiver school. An additional provision allowed high school students to transfer to a school offering a particular curriculum that was unavailable in his designated school zone. Twelfth graders were allowed, if their parents desired, to continue in the school they attended in 1969-70 in 1970-71. Finally, a small number of students from the county were allowed to continue in particular city schools.

Faculty and Staff Assignments. The board's intention was to assign staff so that 25-33 1/3% of each school's faculty would be in the racial minority.

Buildings and Facilities; Construction and Site Selection. The plan porposed 18 improvement projects for elementary schools and six projects for high schools in order to facilitate the achievement of a unitary school system.

School Activities. The plan merely provided for a merger of all school sponsored functions, i.e. athletics, clubs, leadership groups, etc., insuring equal opportunities.

Minor modifications were suggested by the court but at a later hearing, most were ruled inappropriate and the court concurred with the school board's proposal.

As the school district had not bused students prior to submitting the new plan, busing was not an issue.

The reassignment of teachers resulted in minor resistance, primarily with Whites, but no one lost a job as a consequence; those who left the system did so voluntarily. Principals and administrators too were reassigned and did not lose employment.

Attrition of White students began in 1963 and 1964 and had reached 8,500 by the end of freedom of choice. Since 1970 an additional 8,500 have left. With such a rapid and substantial loss of students and the subsequent shifting Black population, it has been impossible to achieve complete desegration with a zone plan. Thus, more than 25% of the public schools now have either an all Black or all White enrollment.

Birmingham City School District -- A Comparative Desegregation Study Site

Birmingham City School District was selected to participate in this study because it was identified from a collection of resource data as a district that developed and implemented a conflict-free (the current plan) and effective plan. Also, it is located in the southern region and is reflective of a large school system, both criteria for comparative purposes. The major purpose of the project was to identify districts that has been effective and successful in their attempts at desegregation and to describe the processes that led to its effectiveness and/or success.

Seven criteria and accompanying indicators were used to assess the degree to which a district was effective. The following is a matching of the findings in Birmingham against these criteria.

Criteria I. Evidence that majority and minority students and staff are structurally integrated* into the social system of the school so both hold statuses and plan roles that are equal in power and prestige.

C-1

Indicators -- 1. Composition of the student body in each school -- As earlier indicated, Birmingham is a partially desegregated school system with more than 25% of the school being all Black or all White in enrollment. This finding is not unusual in larger urban cities. Of the 89 schools only four had racial distributions within the 60%-40% range. Most often distribution ranges were 80% or more of either race in a particular school.

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*Structural Integration (definition used by the California State Department of Education)...that situation in which staff member, children and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system that are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by member of other ethnic groups.

2. Ethnic composition of staff in each school -- The Black/White staff ratio of 50% each in each school is well within the expected range. There are a few more Black than White teachers in the system. Also, there are more Black teachers in the elementary schools, but more White teachers in the high schools. This difference was justified in terms of the availability of certified subject specialists. Information on principals was not obtained.

3. Distribution of majority/minority group students in each class -- The court did not mandate the distribution of students within each school nor across classes. Observations in elementary school classrooms indicated that each class had distribution comparable to that of the school at large. Classes observed in the one well-integrated high school also reflected good distributions. However, it was indicated that classes in ROTC and foods were primarily Black while classes in trigonometry, physics and chemistry were almost all White. It was also found that homogeneous grouping for reading caused some resegregation at the elementary level, and that tracking at the high school level resulted in a vast majority of Black students being in the general diploma program.

4. Discipline - Students, teachers, principals, advisors and counselors generally agreed that discipline was equally administered.

5. Integration of minority group members into organizations and activities of school - Organizations and activities at the elementary level were meager. Student participation seemed to be based on the racial ratios in a given school, or by the ethnicity of the coach. It was indicated here, as well as at the high school level, that nothing specific was being done to encourage more student participation. Most elementary activities are sports related. One school had racially mixed class officers as decreed by the principal.

   The high school having less than a 5% Black enrollment only had Black members participating in one athletic area, track. Blacks in clubs are few and limited. At the best integrated high school most teams and activities were relatively well integrated; exceptions were the all Black Pep Club and basketball team and the predominantly White choir.

6. Patterns of students/student interaction 0 - Few friendships were reported, almost none at all beyond the school grounds. Blacks were frequently resented in the high schools. There was little mixture in the cafeterias or libraries. There was interaction in the classrooms and on the playgrounds. The school made little provision for social interaction.

Criterion 2. Evidence that cultural racial isolation has been reduced and is reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and nonacademic activities.

C-2

Indicators -- 1. (In addition to all the above indicators) A sense of fellowship and mutual respect, as demonstrated by staff and student planning exists -- All observations and marginal interview data indicated that the planning function was maintained by the teachers. Neither observations nor interviews were long enough or great enough in number or adequately tap this criterion.

2. Evidence of avoidance of academic stereotyping -- Teachers at the elementary level stereotyped more on economic and social variables than on race; however, the lower socio-economic students were Black. At the high school level students select a course of study that tracks them. Again those in the general track were greatly saturated by Blacks. If we can say stereotyping was in effect, it was so indirectly.

3. Evidence that teachers have the authority that enables them to work confidently and flexibly with students of varying abilities and talents - Observations indicated that teachers have the authority and flexibility to work with students of varying abilities, but only a few did so. Teachers appeared to be rigid traditionalists who could benefit from staff development in-service programs directed toward this issue. A few teachers relied less than most on the outdated textbooks and attempted to make the subject content relevant and on a personal level.

Criterion 3. Evidence of mutual understanding and positive interaction between majority and minority students and staff.

C-3

Indicators -- 1. School's atmosphere - All of the schools had a peaceful aura during our visits. At the same time there were no indicators of brotherly love to be seen. The situation is best described as peaceful coexistance. Interviewees could not recall any racial incidents over the past year and only two over the past four years.

2. Student attitudes - With the exception of one school the students generally said their schools were fine or good.

3. Counseling and guidance services - These services were available to both races. Individual counselors were viewed as either good with records, transcripts, advising, etc. while others were viewed as more personally oriented. Black and White students alike held this view and it included counselors of both races.

Criterion 4. Evidence of Curriculum offerings and materials reflecting cultural diversity.

C-4
Indicators -- 1. Curriculum offerings related to minority experience or to majority/minority relations - Nothing uniform has been done by the district to incorporate minority experiences into the general offerings although the majority of students are Black. Textbooks are old and very little multi-ethnic materials were in the classrooms or libraries. Nothing seems to be done besides the celebration of Black History courses in the high schools.

2. Library volumes related to the minority experience -- This area was not ivestigated intensively. The little data we secured suggested that such materials were minimal.

3. Evidence of varied instructional techniques designed to meet the different learning styles of students - All instruction was either traditional or in homogeous grouping. Teachers were aware of learning differences but had no idea how to assess, understand or teach to them.

Criterion 5. Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

C-5
Indicators -- 1. Achievement Data on Students in school - All achievement data collected indicates that the White students (at least those in the school having White majorities) perform higher and the reverse is true of Black students. Generally, their achievement is separated by the equivalent of two grade levels.

Criterion 6. Evidence of comprehensive efforts to develop and offer programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

C-6

Indicators -- 1. Evidence of Title I, ESAP or other funds to develop compensatory programs - Many special funds were provided for students from grades K-11 and special funds were secured to conduct human relations in-service workshops.

2. Evidence of the use of resources within and outside the school district to help devise programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity - Early in the human relations programs resources from Auburn University were called upon. Evidence of other resources were minimal.

3. Attempts at in-service training aimed at program development - Other than the human relations training there was no evidence of attempts to improve programs through in-service procedures.

Criterion 7. Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

C-7

Indicators -- 1. Existence of a citizen's committee, or advisory committee, to assist with desegregation plans - The only committee established was for the purpose of holding rap sessions in various neighborhoods prior to the implementation of the plan in order to articulate the new plan and to disspell rumors.

2. Evidence of bi-racial school committees - No committees existed at the schools visited.

3. Evidence that parents and school community are kept informed about problems and successes in the integration process - School news as reported by the newspapers and radio are the major methods for keeping parents and communities informed. The degree to which these media were utilized was not ascertained.

CHAPTER VII

"INTEGRATION" IN RETROSPECT

Some Concluding Observations

Jane Mercer, a Sociologist at the University of California at Riverside, California, uses in her studies of school district's desegregation a five stage policy model designed to determine where on the segregation to integration continuum a district falls. Since her model has implications for this paper it is briefly described below:

Stage 5 - Moving Toward Integration: Philosophic Stance--Equality of educational output, cultural pluralism.

Stage 4 - Comprehensive Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--Schools should have the same ethnic proportions as the district's population, students should have equality of educational opportunity--the latter defined in terms of input, same teachers, schools and texts.

Stage 3 - Token Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--District no longer denies responsibility to desegregate, it alters boundaries, builds new schools, moves toward open enrollment and uses as the underlying theme freedom of choice.

Stage 2 - De Facto Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--The Board of Education does not have the responsibility to change a pattern that it did not cause. The main theme is the neighborhood school.

Stage 1 - De Jure Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--It is not the legal responsibility of the Board to desegregate. The question is raised as to whether the responsibility belongs to the state or to the district.

The Birmingham School District, prior to 1963, was at Stage 1 of the model. From 1963 to 1968, under the freedom of choice plan, the district was at a point some where between Stages 2 and 3. Currently, it is this writer's opinion, the district is operating between Stages 3 and 4, closer to 4. This opinion may be viewed as too liberal by some, but due to the following qualifications it is felt that Birmingham deserves this rating. In the first place, like most models, Mercer's Stages contain descriptors extensive enough for a district not to be able to meet all the criterion at one stage but, at the same time, meet some criteria at a more advanced stage. In addition, as a comparative study, smaller districts characteristically find it more manageable due to size and manpower to make rapid advances through a stage model. Finally, the model itself can be more restrictive than its original intent, and therefore, doesn't make appropriate allowances for districts operating at a different level of criteria.

In terms of the Stage 3 criteria, Birmingham has long accepted the stance that it was their responsibility to desegregate. It has changed its boundaries, closed some inadequate facilities and improved others in order to disestablish a dual school system. Although it expresses a philosophy of open enrollment, it was demographically impossible to desegregate all schools in 1970, an observation concurred with by the court. Acting under the orders of the court, a zoning plan was produced which would have desegregated almost every school had the parents complied and maintained their housing sites. Also, under the sanction of the court, busing was not considered appropriate because the system had no busing program and the city is so large that desegregation of schools in some communities other than by busing was and is an impossible task. Therefore, under the existing constraints, Birmingham attempted a program of Comprehensive Desegregation as it was able to do so. An additional factor that best lies in the Comprehensive Desegregation category is the extent to which they have desegregated the staffs. Opinions suggest that this was not done in an equitable manner but, nevertheless, all students are in schools with completely desegregated teaching staffs.

Some of the Mercer criteria are difficult to interpret consistently. One such criterion, at Stage 4, is that students should have equality of educational opportunity. At one level one might correctly observe that even in the most homogeneous of educational settings the opportunities afforded children at the individual level show great variance. At another level, the one in force in Birmingham, equal opportunity means that at the building level all students have access to the same materials, facilities and comparable teachers. In this sense there is equal opportunity. At the same time there were observed discrepancies in quality and budgetary allocations across schools. In this sense, opportunities are not equal, but not directly because of the race of the students. If one were to interpret equal opportunity in accord with the current educational jargon, the position would be that all students should be taught individually and through techniques appropriate to a variety of learning styles, be they related to race, culture, income level, etc. This position is an ideal, not a technologically practical ability. But up to the current investigation Birmingham has not recognized this view as an objective and for that reason should be rated between Stages 3 and 4.

Another consideration when using the Mercer model to explain or discuss the status of a district's desegregation plan is that one must refrain from assuming that all segments of the community are at the same point on the continuum. It is conceivable that the Board of Education and the district administration could be at a more advanced stage or level of understanding, operation and/or acceptance than parents, other persons in the community or even members of the professional staff in the district. This is often true because of obligations placed on boards of education and school administrations as legal entities to desegregate or otherwise rectify some ill that might heretofore have been perpetuated. An indicator of such a discrepancy is vividly illustrated by the White withdrawal from the public schools to the surrounding county and private schools.

One of the warmest feelings the study team was left with was the potential for improvement within the Mercer model in Birmingham. In spite of many observations of ineffective education the new leadership and the proposed priorities for improvements are incredibly well founded and conceived. If the expected educational quality accompanies these proposed modifications one could easily speculate that children will return from the private and county schools. Another vitally important factor is the soundness and liberal leadership of the municipal government which goes hand-in-hand with education in Birmingham.

Final Remarks

The data in this report were gleaned from prepared documents, formal and informal observations, and from structured and unstructured interviews. As a study team of five spent five days in only 12 of the 91 schools, this report is by no means exhaustive. Many constraints, primarily time and money, prevented a more thorough study. However, the team attempted to collect the most relevant data and report it in such a fashion that others might learn and benefit from the story of Birmingham.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Court Decision Requiring the Implementation of Freedom of Choice in 1967-68

Dr. Sparks
Box 114

35202.

Freedom of Cha

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN
DISTRICT OF ALABAMA, SOUTHERN DIVISION

DWIGHT ARMSTRONG, ET AL, I
Plaintiffs I
vs. I
BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE I
CITY OF BIRMINGHAM, JEFFERSON
COUNTY, ALABAMA, ET AL, I
Defendants I

CIVIL ACTION
NO. 9678

FILED IN CLERK'S OFFICE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA
MAY 8 - 1967
WILLIAM E. DAVIS
CLERK, U. S.

In conformity with the mandate of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, sitting en banc, in the case of United States, et al v. Jefferson County Board of Education, et al (March 29, 1967), the decree of this court entered herein on July 28, 1964, is hereby amended and corrected to read as follows:

CORRECTED DECREE

It is ORDERED, ADJUDGED and DECREED that the defendants, their agents, officers, employees and successors and all those in active concert and participation with them, be and they are permanently enjoined from discriminating on the basis of race or color in the operation of the Birmingham Public School System. As set out more particularly in the body of the decree, they shall take affirmative action to disestablish all school segregation and to eliminate the effects of the dual school system:

I.

SPEED OF DESEGREGATION

Commencing with the 1967-68 school year, in accordance with this decree, all grades, including kindergarten grades, shall be desegregated and pupils assigned to schools in these grades without regard to race or color.

II.

EXERCISE OF CHOICE

The following provisions shall apply to all grades:

(a) Who May Exercise Choice. A choice of schools may be exercised by a parent or other adult person serving as the student's parent. A student may exercise his own choice if he (1) is exercising a choice for the ninth or a higher grade, or (2) has reached the age of fifteen at the time of the exercise of choice. Such a choice by a student is controlling unless a different choice is exercised for him by his parent or other adult person serving as his parent during the choice period or at such later time as the student exercises a choice. Each reference in this decree to a student's exercising a choice means the exercise of the choice, as appropriate, by a parent or such other adult, or by the student himself.

(b) Annual Exercise of Choice. All students, both white and Negro, shall be required to exercise a free choice of schools annually.

(c) Choice Period. The period for exercising choice shall commence May 15, 1967 and end May 31, 1967, and in subsequent years shall commence March 1 and end March 31 preceding the school year for which the choice is to be exercised. No student or prospective student who exercises his choice within the choice period shall be given any preference because of the time within the period when such choice was exercised.

(d) Mandatory Exercise of Choice. A failure to exercise a choice within the choice period shall not preclude any student from exercising a choice at any time before he commences school for the year with respect to which the choice applies, but such choice may be subordinated to the choices of students who exercise choice before the expiration of the choice period. Any student wh has not exercised his choice of school within a week after school opens shall be assigned to the school nearest his home where space is available under standards for determining available space which shall be applied uniformly throughout the system.

(e) Public Notice. On or within a week before the date th choice period opens, the defendants shall arrange for the conspicuous publication of a notice describing the provisions of this decr in the newspaper most generally circulated in the community. The text of the notice shall be substantially similar to the text of the explanatory letter sent home to parents. Publication as a legal notice will not be sufficient. Copies of this notice must also be given at that time to all radio and television stations located in the community. Copies of this decree shall be posted in each school in the school system and at the office of the Superintendent of Education.

(f) Mailing of Explanatory Letters and Choice Forms. On the first day of the choice period there shall be distributed by first-class mail an explanatory letter and a choice form to the parent (or other adult person acting as parent, if known to the defendants) of each student, together with a return envelope addressed to the Superintendent. Should the defendants satisfactorily demonstrate to the court that they are unable to comply with the requirement of distributing the explanatory letter and choice form by first-class mail, they shall propose an alternative method which will maximize individual notice, i.e., personal notice to parents by delivery to the pupil with adequate procedures to insure the delivery of the notice. The text for the explanatory letter and choice form shall essentially conform to the sample letter and choice form appended to this decree.

(g) Extra Copies of the Explanatory Letter and Choice Form. Extra copies of the explanatory letter and choice form shall be freely available to parents, students, prospective students, and the general public at each school in the system and at the office of the Superintendent of Education during the times of the year when such schools are usually open.

(h) Content of Choice Form. Each choice form shall set forth the name and location and the grades offered at each school and may require of the person exercising the choice the name, address, age of student, school and grade currently or most recently attended by the student, the school chosen, the signature of one parent or other adult person serving as parent, or where appropriate the signature of the student, and the identity of the person signing. No statement of reasons for a particular choice, or any other information, or any witness or other authentication, may be required or requested, without approval of the court.

(i) Return of Choice Form. At the option of the person completing the choice form, the choice may be returned by mail, in person, or by messenger to any school in the school system or to the office of the Superintendent.

(j) Choices not on Official Form. The exercise of choice may also be made by the submission in like manner of any other writing which contains information sufficient to identify the student and indicates that he has made a choice of school.

(k) Choice Forms Binding. When a choice form has once been submitted and the choice period has expired, the choice is binding for the entire school year and may not be changed except in cases of parents making different choices from their children under the conditions set forth in paragraph II (a) of this decree and in exceptional cases where, absent the consideration of race, a change is educationally called for or where compelling hardship is shown by the student. A change in family residence from one neighborhood to another shall be considered an exceptional case for purposes of this paragraph.

(l) Preference in Assignment. In assigning students to schools, no preferences shall be given to any student for prior attendance at a school and, except with the approval of court in extraordinary circumstances, no choice shall be denied for any reason other than overcrowding. In case of overcrowding at any school, preference shall be given on the basis of the proximity of the school to the homes of the students choosing it, without regard to race or color. Standards for determining overcrowding shall be applied uniformly throughout the system.

(m) Second Choice where First Choice is Denied. Any student whose choice is denied must be promptly notified in writin and given his choice of any school in the school system serving hi grade level where space is available. The student shall have seve days from the receipt of notice of a denial of first choice in which to exercise a second choice.

(n) Transportation. Where transportation is generally provided, buses must be routed to the maximum extent feasible in ligh of the geographic distribution of students, so as to serve each student choosing any school in the system. Every student choosin either the formerly white or the formerly Negro school nearest his residence must be transported to the school to which he is assigne under these provisions, whether or not it is his first choice, if that school is sufficiently distant from his home to make him eligible for transportation under generally applicable transportation rules.

(o) Officials not to Influence Choice. At no time shall any official, teacher, or employee of the school system influence any parent, or other adult person serving as a parent, or any student, in the exercise of a choice or favor or penalize any person because of a choice made. If the defendant school board employs professional guidance counselors, such persons shall base their guidance and counselling on the individual student's particular personal, academic, and vocational needs. Such guidance and counselling by teachers as well as professional guidance counsellors shall be available to all students without regard to race or color.

(p) Protection of Persons Exercising Choice. Within their authority school officials are responsible for the protection of persons exercising rights under or otherwise affected by this decree. They shall, without delay, take appropriate action with regard to any student or staff member who interferes with the successful operation of the plan. Such interference shall include harassment, intimidation, threats, hostile words or acts, and similar behavior. The school board shall not publish, allow, or cause to be published, the names or addresses of pupils exercising rights or otherwise affected by this decree. If officials of the school system are not able to provide sufficient protection, they shall seek whatever assistance is necessary from other appropriate officials.

XII.

PROSPECTIVE STUDENTS

Each prospective new student shall be required to exercise a choice of schools before or at the time of enrollment. All such students known to defendants shall be furnished a copy of the prescribed letter to parents, and choice form, by mail or in person, on the date the choice period opens or as soon thereafterafter as the school system learns that he plans to enroll. Where there is no pre-registration procedure for newly entering students, copies of the choice forms shall be available at the Office of the Superintendent and at each school during the time the school is usually open.

IV.

TRANSFERS

(a) Transfers for Students. Any student shall have the right at the beginning of a new term, to transfer to any school from which he was excluded or would otherwise be excluded on account of his race or color.

(b) Transfers for Special Needs. Any student who requires a course of study not offered at the school to which he has been assigned may be permitted, upon his written application, at the beginning of any school term or semester, to transfer to another school which offers courses for his special needs.

(c) Transfers to Special Classes or Schools. If the defendants operate and maintain special classes or schools for physically handicapped, mentally retarded, or gifted children, the defendants may assign children to such schools or classes on a basis related to the function of the special class or school that is other than freedom of choice. In no event shall such assignments be made on the basis of race or color or in a manner which tends to perpetuate a dual school system based on race or color.

V.

SERVICES, FACILITIES, ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

No student shall be segregated or discriminated against on account of race or color in any service, facility, activity, or program (including transportation, athletics, or other extracurricular activity) that may be conducted or sponsored by the school in which he is enrolled. A student attending school for the first time on a desegregated basis may not be subject to any disqualification or waiting period for participation in activities and programs, including athletics, which might otherwise apply because he is a transfer or newly assigned student except that such transferees shall be subject to longstanding, non-racially based rules of city, county, or state athletic associations dealing with the eligibility of transfer students for athletic contests. All school use or school-sponsored use of athletic fields, meeting rooms and all other school related services, facilities, activities, and programs such as commencement exercises and parent-teacher meetings which are open to persons other than enrolled students, shall be open to all persons without regard to race or color. All special educational programs conducted by the defendants shall be conducted without regard to race or color.

VI.

SCHOOL EQUALIZATION

(a) Inferior Schools. In schools heretofore maintained for Negro students, the defendants shall take prompt steps necessary to provide physical facilities, equipment, courses of instruction, and instructional materials of quality equal to that provided in schools previously maintained for white students. Conditions of overcrowding, as determined by pupil-teacher ratios and pupil-classroom ratios shall, to the extent feasible, be distributed evenly between schools formerly maintained for Negro students and those formerly maintained for white students. If for any reason it is not feasible to improve sufficiently any school formerly maintained for Negro students, where such improvement would otherwise be required by this paragraph, such school shall be closed as soon as possible, and students enrolled in the school shall be reassigned on the basis of freedom of choice. By October of each year, defendants shall report to the Clerk of the Court pupil-teacher ratios, pupil-classroom ratios, and per-pupil expenditures both as to operating and capital improvement costs, and shall outline the steps to be taken and the time within which they shall accomplish the equalization of such schools.

(b) Remedial Programs. The defendants shall provide remedial education programs which permit students attending or who have previously attended segregated schools to overcome past inadequacies in their education.

VII.

NEW CONSTRUCTION

The defendants, to the extent consistent with the proper operation of the school system as a whole, shall locate any new school and substantially expand any existing schools with the objective of eradicating the vestiges of the dual system.

VIII.

FACULTY AND STAFF

(a) Faculty Employment. Race or color shall not be a facto in the hiring, assignment, reassignment, promotion, demotion, or dismissal of teachers and other professional staff members, including student teachers, except that race may be taken into account f the purpose of counteracting or correcting the effect of the segregated assignment of faculty and staff in the dual system. Teachers principals, and staff members shall be assigned to schools so that the faculty and staff is not composed exclusively of members of on race. Wherever possible, teachers shall be assigned so that more than one teacher of the minority race (white or Negro) shall be on a desegregated faculty. Defendants shall take positive and affirmative steps to accomplish the desegregation of their school faculti and to achieve substantial desegregation of faculties in as many o the schools as possible for the 1967-68 school year notwithstandin that teacher contracts for the 1967-68 or 1968-69 school years may have already been signed and approved. The tenure of teachers in the system shall not be used as an excuse for failure to comply with this provision. The defendants shall establish as an objective that the pattern of teacher assignment to any particular school not be identifiable as tailored for a heavy concentration of either Negro or white pupils in the school.

(b) Dismissals. Teachers and other professional staff members may not be discriminatorily assigned, dismissed, demoted, or passed over for retention, promotion, or rehiring, on the ground of race or color. In any instance where one or more teachers or other professional staff members are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no staff vacancy in the school system shall be filled through recruitment from outside the system unless no such displaced staff member is qualified to fill the vacancy. If, as a result of desegregation, there is to be a reduction in the total professional staff of the school system, the qualifications of all staff members in the system shall be evaluated in selecting the staff member to be released without consideration of race or color. A report containing any such proposed dismissals, and the reasons therefor, shall be filed with the Clerk of the Court, serving copies upon opposing counsel, within five (5) days after such dismissal, demotion, etc., as proposed.

(c) Past Assignments. The defendants shall take steps to assign and reassign teachers and other professional staff members to eliminate the effects of the dual school system.

IX.

REPORTS TO THE COURT

(1) Report on Choice Period. The defendants shall serve upon the opposing parties and file with the Clerk of the Court on or before ~~May 15,~~ July 1, 1967, ~~and on or before June 15, 1967,~~ and in each

subsequent year on or before June 1, a report tabulating by race the number of choice applications and transfer applications received for enrollment in each grade in each school in the system, and the number of choices and transfers granted and the number of denials in each grade of each school. The report shall also state any reasons relied upon in denying choice and shall tabulate, by school and by race of student, the number of choices and transfers denied for each such reason.

In addition, the report shall show the percentage of pupils actually transferred or assigned from segregated grades or to schools attended predominantly by pupils of a race other than the race of the applicant, for attendance during the 1966-67 school ye with comparable data for the 1965-66 school year. Such additional information shall be included in the report served upon opposing counsel and filed with the Clerk of the Court.

(2) Report After School Opening. The defendants shall, in addition to reports elsewhere described, serve upon opposing couns and file with the Clerk of the Court on or before October 1st ~~within 15 days~~ after the opening of schools for the fall semester of each year, a report setting forth the following information:

(i) The name, address, grade, school of choice and school of present attendance of each student who has withdrawn or requested withdrawal of his choice of school or who has transferred after the start of the school year, together with a description of any action taken by the defendants on his request and the reasons therefor.

(ii) The number of faculty vacancies, by school, that have occurred or been filled by the defendants since the order of this Court or the latest report submitted pursuant to this sub-paragraph. This report shall state the race of the teacher employed to fill each such vacancy and indicate whether such teacher is newly employed or was transferred from within the system. The tabulation of the number of transfers within the system shall indicate the schools from which and to which the transfers were made. The report shall also set forth the number of faculty members of each race assigned to each school for the current year.

(iii) The number of students by race, in each grade of each school.

EXPLANATORY LETTER

(School System Name and Office Address)

(Date Sent)

Dear Parent:

All grades in our school system will be desegregated next year. Any student who will be entering one of these grades next year may choose to attend any school in our system, regardless of whether that school was formerly all-white or all-Negro. It does not matter which school your child is attending this year. You and your child may select any school you wish.

Every student, white and Negro, must make a choice of schools. If a child is entering the ninth or higher grade, or if the child is fifteen years old or older, he may make the choice himself. Otherwise a parent or other adult serving as parent must sign the choice form. A child enrolling in the school system for the first time must make a choice of schools before or at the time of his enrollment.

The form on which the choice should be made is attached to this letter. It should be completed and returned by June 1, 1967: You may mail it in the enclosed envelope, or deliver it by messenger or by hand to any school principal or to the Office of the Superintendent at any time between May 1 and June 1. No one may require you to return your choice form before June 1 and no preference is given for returning the choice form early.

No principal, teacher, or other school official is permitt to influence anyone in making a choice or to require early return of the choice form. No one is permitted to favor or penalize any student or other person because of a choice made. A choice once made cannot be changed except for serious hardship.

No child will be denied his choice unless for reasons of overcrowding at the school chosen, in which case children living nearest the school will have preference.

Transportation will be provided, if reasonably possible, no matter what school is chosen. [Delete if the school system does not provide transportation.]

Your School Board and the school staff will do everything can to see to it that the rights of all students are protected and that desegregation of our schools is carried out successfully.

Sincerely yours,

Superintendent.

CHOICE FORM

This form is provided for you to choose a school for your child to attend next year. You have 30 days to make your choice. It does not matter which school your child attended last year, and does not matter whether the school you choose was formerly a white or Negro school. This form must be mailed or brought to the principal of any school in the system or to the office of the Superintendent, [address], by June 1, 1967. A choice is required for each child.

Name of child . . . .
(Last) (First) (Middle)

Address . . . .

Name of Parent or other
adult serving as parent . . . .

If child is entering first grade, date of birth:

. . . .
(Month) (Day) (Year)

Grade child is entering . . . .

School attended last year . . . .

Choose one of the following schools by marking an X beside the name.

Name of School	Grade	Location
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

Signature . . . .

Date . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

To be filled in by Superintendent:

School Assigned . . . .[1]

Done, this the 8th day of May, 1967.

/s/ Seybourn H. Lynne
Chief Judge.

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[1] In subsequent years the dates in both the explanatory letter and the choice form should be changed to conform to the choice period.

APPENDIX B

Notification of and Application for The Exercise of the Freedom of Choice Option

TO THE STUDENTS OF THE BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM
WHOSE RESIDENCES ARE IN THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL DISTRICT
UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE CITY OF BIRMINGHAM
BOARD OF EDUCATION, THE PARENTS OF SUCH STUDENTS,
THE TEACHERS AND OTHER SCHOOL PERSONNEL:

The following Desegregation Plan pursuant to the Court Order and Decree, Civil Action No. 9678, signed by Judge Seybourn H. Lynne and filed May 8, 1967, will be continued for the school year 1968-69. The following information is made available for public notice in accordance with the requirements.

All grades in our school system will be desegregated again next year. Any student who will be entering one of these grades next year may choose to attend any school in our system, regardless of whether that school was formerly all-white or all-Negro. It does not matter which school your child is attending this year. You and your child may select any school you wish.

Every student, white and Negro, must make a choice of schools. If a child is entering the ninth or a higher grade, or if the child is fifteen years old or older, he may make the choice himself. Otherwise a parent or other adult serving as parent must sign the choice form. A child enrolling in the school system for the first time must make a choice of schools before or at the time of his enrollment.

The form on which the choice should be made will be attached to the letter to be sent to the parents on March 1, 1968. It should be completed and returned by March 31, 1968. You may mail it or deliver it by messenger or by hand to any school principal or to the Office of the Superintendent at any time between March 1 and March 31. No one may require you to return your choice form before March 31 and no preference is given for returning the choice form early.

No principal, teacher, or other school official is permitted to influence anyone in making a choice or to require early return of the choice form. No one is permitted to favor or penalize any student or other person because of a choice made. A choice once made cannot be changed except for serious hardship.

No child will be denied his choice unless for reasons of overcrowding at the school chosen, in which case children living nearest the school will have preference.

YOUR FULL COOPERATION IN EXERCISING A CHOICE DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH WILL ENABLE THE BOARD OF EDUCATION TO MAKE ADEQUATE PLANS FOR THE OPENING OF SCHOOLS IN SEPTEMBER. PARENTS OF PROSPECTIVE FIRST GRADERS ARE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE A CHOICE IN MARCH ALSO.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Christian

Superintendent

Desegregation
Form I-68

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
2015 7th Avenue, North
P. O. Drawer 114
Birmingham, Alabama 35202

March 1, 1968

Dear Parent:

All grades in our school system will be desegregated again next year. Any student may choose to attend any school in our system, regardless of whether that school was formerly all-white or all-Negro. It does not matter which school your child is attending this year. You and your child may select any school you wish for the year 1968-69 which begins September 3, 1968.

Every student, white and Negro, must make a choice of schools. If a child is entering the ninth or a higher grade, or if the child is fifteen years old or older, he may make the choice himself. Otherwise a parent or other adult serving as parent must sign the choice form. A child enrolling in the school system for the first time must make a choice of schools before or at the time of his enrollment. This includes new first graders.

The form on which the choice should be made is attached to this letter. It should be completed and returned by March 31, 1968. You may mail it, or deliver it by messenger, or by hand, to any school principal, or to the Office of the Superintendent at any time between March 1 and March 31. No one may require you to return your choice form before March 31 and no preference is given for returning the choice form early within the choice period.

No principal, teacher, or other school official is permitted to influence anyone in making a choice or to require early return of the choice form. No one is permitted to favor or penalize any student or other person because of a choice made. A choice once made cannot be changed except for serious hardship.

No child will be denied his choice unless for reasons of overcrowding at the school chosen, in which case children living nearest the school will have preference. A student whose first choice is denied may make a second choice.

Your School Board and the school staff will do everything we can to see to it that the rights of all students are protected.

YOUR FULL COOPERATION IN EXERCISING A CHOICE DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH WILL ENABLE THE BOARD OF EDUCATION TO MAKE ADEQUATE PLANS FOR THE OPENING OF SCHOOLS IN SEPTEMBER. PARENTS OF PROSPECTIVE FIRST GRADERS ARE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE A CHOICE IN MARCH ALSO.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond Christian

Raymond Christian
Superintendent

Date Received if after
March 31, 1968

Desegrega
Form 11-

CHOICE FORM
BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1968-69

This form is provided for you to choose a school for your child to attend next year. You have until March 31, 1968, make your choice. It does not matter which school your child is attending now, and it does not matter whether the school choose was formerly a white or Negro school. This form must be mailed or brought to the principal of any school in system or to the office of the Superintendent, 2015 7th Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama, by March 31, 1968. A CHOI IS REQUIRED FOR EACH CHILD.

Name of child______________________
(Last) (First) (Middle)

Address______________________
(Zip Code)

Name of parent or other adult serving as parent______________________

If child is entering first grade, date of birth:______________________
(Month) (Day) (Year)

Grade child will enter in September, 1968______________________

School attended 1967-68______________________

CHOOSE ONE OF THE FOLLOWING SCHOOLS BY MARKING AN X BESIDE THE NAME:

Place X By School Chosen (One Only)	Name of School	Grades	Location
	HIGH SCHOOLS		
( )	Banks	9-12	721 86th Street, South, 35206
( )	Carver	9-12	3400 33rd Terrace, North, 35207
( )	Ensley	9-12	2301 Avenue J, Ensley, 35218
( )	Glenn	9-12	901 16th Street, West, 35208
( )	Hayes	9-12	505 43rd Street, North, 35222
( )	Huffman High	9-11	950 Springville Road, 35215
( )	Jones Valley High	9-12	2000 31st Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Parker	9-12	300 8th Avenue, North, 35204
( )	Phillips	9-12	2316 7th Avenue, North, 35203
( )	Ramsay	9-12	1800 13th Avenue, South, 35205
( )	Ullman	9-12	625 12th Street, South, 35233
( )	West End	9-12	1840 Pearson Avenue, 35211
( )	Western	9-12	519 12th Street, Ensley, 35218
( )	Woodlawn	9-12	5620 First Avenue, North, 35212
	ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS		
( )	Avondale	1-8	4000 8th Court, South, 35222
( )	Baker	1-8	3013 Avenue F, Ensley, 35218
( )	Barrett	1-8	7601 Division Avenue, 35206
( )	Brown	1-8	4911 Court J, 35208
( )	Bryant	1-8	6446 Washington Boulevard, 35212
( )	Bush	1-8	1112 25th Street, Ensley, 35218
( )	Butler	1-8	218 48th Street, South, 35222
( )	Calloway	1-8	3417 34th Terrace, North, 35207
( )	Cameron	1-3	Avenue H and 14th Street, South, 35205
( )	Center Street	1-8	1832 Center Way, 35205
( )	Central Park	1-8	4915 Avenue Q, Central Park, 35208
( )	Christian	1-8	701 Sunset Drive, 35216
( )	Comer	1-8	1220 50th Street, South, 35222
( )	Councill	1-8	1400 Avenue M, Ensley, 35218
( )	Curry	1-8	7900 8th Avenue, North, 35206
( )	Davis	1-8	417 29th Street, South, 35233
( )	Dudley	1-8	4308 42nd Street, North, 35217
( )	Dupuy	1-8	4500 14th Avenue, North, 35212
( )	Eagan	1-8	1716 31st Avenue, North, 35207
( )	East Lake	1-8	7525 Madrid Avenue, East Lake, 35206
( )	Elyton	1-8	6 Tuscaloosa Avenue, 35211
( )	Eureka	1-8	812 18th Way, S. W., 35211
( )	Fairmont	1-8	4320 Lewisburg Road, 35207
( )	Fairview	1-8	2623 29th Street, Ensley, 35208
( )	Finley Avenue	1-8	135 Finley Avenue, West, 35204
( )	Gate City	1-8	6910 Georgia Road, Gate City, 35212

(OVER)

II-102

PLEASE SIGN ON BACK

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (Continued)

Place X By School Chosen (One Only)	Name of School	Grades	Location
( )	Gibson	1-8	956 50th Street, North, 35212
( )	Glen Iris	1-8	1115 South 11th Street, 35205
( )	Going	1-8	1015 North Martinwood Drive, 35235
( )	Gorgas	1-8	930 21st Avenue, West, 35204
( )	Graymont	1-8	300 8th Avenue, West, 35204
( )	Green Acres	1-8	945 Pineview Road, 35228
( )	Hemphill	1-8	1240 Cotton Avenue, 35211
( )	Hill	1-8	507 3rd Street, North, 35204
( )	Holman	1-8	5130 8th Court, South, 35212
( )	Hudson	1-8	3300 Huntsville Road, North, 35207
( )	Huffman Elementary	1-8	517 Huffman Road, 35215
( )	Inglenook	1-8	4120 Inglenook Street, 35217
( )	Jackson	1-8	1401 16th Way, S. W., 35211
( )	Jones Valley Elementary	1-8	2921 Dowell Avenue, S. W., 35211
( )	Kennedy	1-8	125 63rd Street, North, 35212
( )	Kingston	1-8	801 46th Street, North, 35212
( )	Lakeview	1-8	2801 Clairmont Avenue, 35205
( )	Lane	1-8	410 13th Street, South, 35233
( )	Lee	1-8	630 18th Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Lewis	1-8	2015 26th Avenue, North, 35234
( )	Lincoln	1-8	901 9th Avenue, North, 35204
( )	Martin	1-6	1325 12th Street, North, 35204
( )	McArthur	1-8	2418 17th Avenue, North, 35234
( )	McCaw	1-8	1020 Avenue M, Ensley, 35214
( )	McElwain	1-8	4447 Montevallo Road, 35213
( )	Minor	1-8	2425 Avenue S, Ensley, 35218
( )	Moore	1-5	1401 Avenue G, Ensley, 35218
( )	North Birmingham	1-8	2620 35th Avenue, North, 35207
( )	North Roebuck	1-8	300 Red Lane Road, 35215
( )	Northside	1-8	2301 11th Avenue, North, 35234
( )	Norwood	1-8	3136 Norwood Boulevard, 35234
( )	Oliver	1-8	6871 6th Court, South, 35212
( )	Patterson	1-8	210 64th Street, South, 35212
( )	Powderly	1-8	Dawson Avenue and 20th Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Powell	1-8	2331 6th Avenue, North. 35203
( )	Pratt	1-8	306 Avenue U, Pratt City, 35214
( )	Price	1-8	532 28th Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Princeton	1-8	1425 2nd Avenue, West, 35208
( )	Putnam	1-8	1757 Montclair Road, 35210
( )	Riggins	1-8	3177 44th Court, North, 35207
( )	Riley	1-8	2801 35th Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Robinson	1-8	8400 First Avenue, South, 35206
( )	Scott	1-8	Cherry Avenue & Hibernian Street, P. C., 35214
( )	Sears	1-8	500 93rd Street, North, 35206
( )	Sherman Heights	1-8	2000 Pleasant Hill Road, 35224
( )	Shields	1-8	3969 14th Avenue, North, 35234
( )	Smith	1-8	1124 Five Mile Road, 35215
( )	South East Lake	1-8	720 86th Street, South, 35206
( )	Spaulding	1-8	1720 12th Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Thomas Furnace	1-6	833 8th Street, Thomas, 35214
( )	Tuggle	1-8	412 12th Court, North, 35204
( )	Tuxedo	1-8	2009 Avenue Q, 35218
( )	Washington	1-8	115 4th Avenue, South, 35205
( )	Welton	1-8	3716 5th Avenue, Ensley (Wylam), 35224
( )	West Center Street	1-8	1712 3rd Street, S. W., 35211
( )	Whatley	1-8	549 43rd Street, North, 35222
( )	Wilkerson	1-8	116 11th Court, North, 35204
( )	Wilson	1-8	1030 4th Terrace, West, 35204
( )	Wylam	1-8	701 41st Street, Wylam, 35214
( )	Zion Heights	1-6	1 39th Avenue, North, 35207
( )			

Signature____________________________________
of Person Making the Choice

Relationship to Student__________________________

Date____

This space is reserved for the Superintendent of Schools:____________________________

School Assigned__________________________________

APPENDIX C

Superintendent's Letter to
Staff Requesting Transfers

ROBERT C. ARTHUR
PRESIDENT
DR. C. W. NEVILLE D. R. PHARES
DONALD L. NEWSOM MRS. SAM. P. PHELPS

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT

BOARD OF EDUCATION
P. O. DRAWER 114
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35202
323-8521

June 19, 1968

To Principals, Teachers, and Registrars in the Birmingham Public Schools:

The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit has ordered the Birmingham Board of Education to desegregate the staffs of all schools in the system. Since the Board has no choice in this matter, it is inquiring of each staff member as to his or her willingnes to accept a transfer or assignment to a school in Birmingham which, in the past, has been attended by pupils and/or staffed by members predominantly of the race other than his or her own.

Insofar as possible, the Board plans to place teachers who volunteer to change so that two or more teachers of the minority race will be in a school. The Board does not wish to mak involuntary assignments. However, unless the Board obtains a sufficient number of volunte or expressions of willingness to accept such assignments, it may be ordered to make involu tary assignments.

The Board, therefore, solicits your cooperation and requests that you fill out the information requested below and return it to the Personnel Office over your signature (in the enclosed stamped self-addressed envelope). Your immediate attention and reply are urged so that the Board may meet its deadline in making its report to the court.

With appreciation,

Raymond Christian
Raymond Christian, Superintendent

1. Would you be willing to accept a transfer or assignment (for the school year beginning in September 1968) to a school in Birmingham which, in the past, has been attended by pupils and/or staffed by members predominantly of the race other than your own?

CIRCLE ONE: YES NO

2. IF the Board were ordered to make involuntary transfers and assignments, and you were so assigned, would you accept?

CIRCLE ONE: YES NO

* * * * * * * *

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE ______________________________

RACE ______________ SEX ______________ DATE ______________

APPROXIMATE TOTAL YEARS IN THIS SYSTEM ______________________________

PRESENT SCHOOL (1968-69) ______________________________

PRESENT GRADE, SUBJECT, OR JOB ______________________________

(PLEASE RETURN ONE COPY - KEEP ONE COPY)

11-105

APPENDIX D

A Report to the Court on Staff
Integration as of
June 21, 1968

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOLS
A REPORT TO THE COURT ON STAFF INTEGRATION AS OF JUNE 21, 1968

Pursuant to the Court Order of May 8, 1967, an intensive effort was made by the Administrative Staff to induce teachers to teach in schools where the staff members were predominantly of the opposite race. During the summer months of 1967, Mr. Claude McLain, Mr. N. P. Ardillo, and Dr. W. C. Matherson interviewed some 200 people.

As a result of these interviews, 31 Negro teachers were assigned to predominantly white schools and four white teachers were assigned to Negro schools. These teachers were assigned to eight white high schools, three Negro high schools, and three white elementary schools.

Student teachers were placed in cooperation with the colleges and universities on a non-discriminatory basis. Twenty-six Negro student teachers from Alabama A & M College were placed in predominantly white schools. Five white student teachers from the University of Alabama were placed in predominantly Negro schools.

STEPS TAKEN IN PREPARING FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1968-69 WHICH BEGINS SEPTEMBER 1968 (JANUARY 1, 1968 UP TO AND THROUGH JUNE 21, 1968)

1. Every new teacher applicant interviewed for employment, both Negro and white, was asked this question: "Will you accept an assignment in an opposite race school where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race?" It is estimated that some 450 people were interviewed in this manner. These interviews were conducted by Mr. Claude McLain , Dr. W. C. Matherson, Mr. N. P. Ardillo, and Mr. James Goodson.

2. As a result of these interviews, 26 white applicants expressed a willingness to teach in a school where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race. All 26 of these applicants were sent contracts.

Thirty-five Negro applicants who expressed a willingness to teach in schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race are being assigned to teaching positions as they become available, taking into consideration the fact that volunteers within the system will be assigned before the need for additional new teachers can be determined, and giving consideration to the fact that the overall enrollment of the school system is declining, thus necessitating fewer teachers for next year than were employed this year.

3. Beginning in May 1968, Dr. Raymond Christian, Superintendent, invited each principal in the school system, both white and Negro, to send three to five teacher from his school to meetings to be held in the Board of Education building, so that he personally might explain to them the intent of the Jefferson Decree specifically as it relates to staff desegregation. He made a direct appeal to all 417 people who attended these meetings to consider teaching in a school where staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.

Conferences were held as follows in the Board of Education building:

Date	No. Present
Tuesday, May 21	83
Wednesday, May 22	83
Friday, May 24	85
Tuesday, May 28	84
Wednesday, May 29	82
	417

In order to get this message to all staff members, Dr. Christian asked the school representatives to go back and give the same information they had received to the other staff members in their schools.

All 417 persons were invited to give this matter serious consideration and to express their willingness to transfer. They were asked to give their decisions to either Mr. McLain , Dr. Matherson, Mr. Ardillo, or Mr. Goodson.

4. As a result of the Superintendent's personal appeal to these 417 people
   (a) Thirty-one Negro teachers and four white teachers volunteered to teach in schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.
   (b) These 35 teachers will be reassigned for the school year beginning September 1968 to schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.

5. In another effort to acquaint all the teachers with the Jefferson Decree and to induce them to consider teaching in schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race, questionnaires were mailed (first class mail with an enclosed stamped self-addressed return envelope) to 2,672 principals, teachers, and registrars. They were asked: "Would you be willing to accept a transfer or assignment (for the school year beginning in September 1968) to a school in Birmingham which, in the past, has been attended by pupils and/or staffed by members predominantly of the race other than your own?" and, "IF the Board were ordered to make involuntary transfers and assignments, and you were so assigned, would you accept?" (See copy attached). Further reports will be made as to replies received.

Although the teachers who have already expressed a willingness will be assigned to a school attended predominantly by pupils opposite to the race of the teacher, until all replies are received and attitudes expressed, it is impracticable at this time to make definite assignments in regard to a particular school or grade.

6. In day-to-day interviews, a continous effort is being made to get new applicants to teach in schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.

7. A number of very fine workshops are being held during the summer at the Board of Education building in which teachers of both races are participating in the preparation of curriculum guides, instructional materials, etc., for the school year 1968-69.

APPENDIX E

Targets for the School Year

1968-69

TARGETS FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1968-69

It is the intention of the Birmingham Board of Education to comply with the Jefferson Decree.

(a) It plans to have one or more teachers, and two or more where possible, in each school in Birmingham where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.
(b) It plans to continue its program of interviewing with a view to persuading teachers to teach in schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.
(c) It intends to assign as many teachers to schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race as available positions permit, realizing, of course, that teachers will be assigned in their major area of competency.
(d) Student teachers will continue to be assigned in cooperation with colleges and universities based on the racial composition of the college or university classes.
(e) A list of substitute teachers of both races will be supplied to all schools.
(f) Throughout the school year as vacancies occur due to resignations, deaths, moving out of the city, etc., continuing efforts will be made to assign teachers to schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race.

The Board of Education feels that progress is being made in staff integration. The number of teachers who are willing to teach in opposite race schools is increasing significantly and as success is evidenced in the over-all program of staff integration, it will make it easier to increase the number of people who will make these changes willingly in the future.

It now looks as if more than 125 teachers will be teaching in schools where the staff members are predominantly of the opposite race. This represents a marked increase over the first year in which the program was put into operation.

Raymond Christian
Superintendent

APPENDIX F

Court Decision Containing guidelines For the Establishment of a Unitary School System in Birmingham

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA, SOUTHERN DIVISION

DWIGHT ARMSTRONG, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Plaintiff-Intervenor,

vs.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF BIRMINGHAM, JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA, et al.,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION

NO. 9678

FILED IN CLERK'S OFFICE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA
JUN 19 1970
WILLIAM E. DAVIS
CLERK, U. S. DISTRICT COURT
BY
DEPUTY CLERK

FINDINGS OF FACT, CONCLUSIONS OF LAW AND FINAL JUDGMENT

FINDINGS OF FACT

The defendant Board of Education of the City of Birmingham, Alabama, has been operating a freedom of choice plan of desegregation under the model decree prescribed in United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 380 F.2d 385 (5th Cir. 1967). In conformity with the mandate of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in United States v. Board of Education of the City of Birmingham, 417 F.2d 846 (5th Cir. 1969), and United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 417 F.2d 834 (5th Cir. 1969), holding freedom of choice to be inadequate for the disestablishment of dual school systems and directing the consideration of zone assignments, the defendant board on September 5, 1969, was ordered to prepare and file on December 30, 1969, plans to disestablish the dual school system in the City of Birmingham effective for the beginning of the 1970-1971 school term. Also in accordance with the requirement of United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, supra, and the later decision of the Fifth Circuit Court [illegible] in *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District*, 419 F.2d 1211 (1969), the board was instructed to request the Office of Education of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare to collaborate in the preparation of the plans and to direct such plans to student and faculty assignment, facilities, athletic and other school activities, and school location and construction activities to the end of achieving conversion to a unitary system. Transportation, which is the remaining area in which the elimination of racial identification is required by *Singleton* and by the Supreme Court's decision in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968), is not a factor here since Birmingham has no school transportation system.

Pursuant to that order the board requested the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to collaborate in preparation of the plan, and it was agreed by the Office of Education that such collaboration would be with its designee, the Auburn University Center for Assistance to School Systems with Problems Occasioned by Desegregation. The school board's plan was developed over a period of several months with full participation and collaboration by personnel of the Auburn Center. The plan as prepared by the school board and the Auburn Center was filed on December 30, 1969, as directed by the court's order.

SCHOOL BOARD PLAN

The school board plan is divided into five major parts relating to student assignments, personnel (including faculty and staff assignments), buildings and facilities (including new construction and site acquisition), school activities (including athletics and other extracurricular activities), and proposals for dissemination of information and techniques to aid in implementation of the plan.

Student Assignments. The Birmingham school system historically has used an 8-4 organizational structure consisting of elementary schools (grades 1-8) and high schools (grades 9-12), and the plan retains this structure. The enrollment in the Birmingham schools for the 1969-1970 school year totaled 66,174 students, consisting of 196.3 high school students and 46,511 elementary school students. The racial composition of the 1969-1970 enrollement was 31,252 whites and 34,922 Negroes, of which 9,991 whites and 9,672 Negroes were in high schools and 21,261 whites and 25,250 Negroes were in elementary schools. During the 1969-70 school year the school board operated 84 elementary schools and 14 high schools. The Birmingham school system does not provide transportation for either elementary or high school students. It is proposed by the school board plan that eight previously all black elementary schools will be closed and the city divided into 76 elementary school attendance areas and that one previously all black high school will be eliminated and the city divided into 13 high school attendance areas. For the elementary schools the attendance areas proposed by the school board are those shown on the board's revised elementary school map introduced in evidence as defendants' exhibit 13; for the high schools the proposed attendance areas are those shown on the board's revised high school map in evidence as defendants' exhibit 12. The plan also includes majority-to-minority transfer provisions for both elementary and high schools, with the right to transfer limited by the capacity of the school to which transfer is sought. For high school students (but not for elementary school students) the plan provides additionally for curriculum transfers when a course of study is not available in a student's attendance area but is available in another area and will permit twelfth graders whose parents so desire to complete in the 1970-71 school year their schooling at the same school attended by them in 1969-70. The plan also will permit, during the 1970-71 school year only, a small number of students residing in Jefferson County who attended certain Birmingham schools in 1969-70 to continue attending those schools.

Faculty and Staff Assignments. The board intends to assign personnel so as to achieve "a range of 25 to 33^{1}/3% of all teachers to work in schools where their race is in the minority."

Buildings and Facilities; Construction and Site Selection. The plan states that the school board will use its present facilities and will "construct new facilities, and acquire new sites in accordance with its policy to establish a unitary school system." With respect to school construction and site selection the plan enumerates and describes 18 projects for elementary schools and six projects for high schools which are necessary to the overall effectiveness of the unitary plan. It was made known at the hearings that the board proposes to modify its plan with respect to site expansion for Parker High School. Under the plan as modified the board will acquire 1^{1}/2 blocks of property east of Parker's present site across 4th Street North (instead of the block north of the present site as stated in the plan) and also will acquire, if the funds are made available by the next bond election, ^{1}/2 block of property north of the present site. (A map of the property to be acquired was introduced as defendants' exhibit 10.) All other parts of the plan's construction and site acquisition program will remain unchanged.

School Activities. The plan provides for the merger of and equal opportunities in all school activities, including athletics and athletic contests, school sponsored clubs, school sponsored leadership groups, and other school sponsored functions.

OBJECTIONS TO SCHOOL BOARD PLAN

The plaintiffs filed no objections or proposed modifications to the school board plan. At the hearing on June 5-9, 1970, it was shown that the plaintiffs had no objections to any portion of the school board plan except (1) its provision for personnel assignments and (2) its provision for the continued attendance during the 1970-71 school year of 229 Jefferson County residents at Jones Valley High School pursuant to an agreement between the Jefferson County and Birmingham boards of education. The plaintiffs were in accord with the school board in regard to student assignments and school construction and sites.

The United States as plaintiff-intervenor on January 12, 1970, filed a motion setting forth specific and limited suggestions for modification of the school board plan. These suggestions originally included proposals for the pairing of two high schools and 12 elementary schools. Subsequently and at the hearing on June 5-9, 1970, the original objections or suggestions of the United States were substantially narrowed to consist of only the following: (1) With respect to student assignments in elementary schools the only changes suggested were proposals for the pairing of the Tuxedo and Bush schools and the pairing of the Gibson and Kingston schools. (2) With respect to student assignments in high school the only change suggested by the United States was that the zone line dividing the attendance areas for the Ensley and Western (Olin) high schools be drawn as shown on defendants' exhibit 5 instead of as shown on the school board's revised high school attendance area map (defendants' exhibit 12). (3) With respect to the proposals in the school board plan for school construction the United States' objection, which was limited to the proposed improvements for Parker High School, was that construction and site location for Parker might serve to minimize desegregation. (4) With respect to faculty and staff assignments the United States, as did the plaintiffs, urged that the plan should incorporate the provision for faculty and staff assignments prescribed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, supra, 419 F.2d at 1217-18. (5) With respect to attendance by non-residents the United States' position was the same as that of the plaintiffs as stated above relative to the 229 Jefferson County students attending Jones Valley High School in the 1970-71 school year.

The evidence which was presented at the hearing on objections to the plan held by the court on June 5-9, 1970, was confined to the several issues in controversy raised by the United States' suggestions as subsequently narrowed and outlined above.

A UNITARY SYSTEM

The plan and the evidence taken with respect to the limited areas of disagreement have been viewed in the light of the standards for disestablishment of dual schools and for conversion into a unitary school system as set forth in Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, 396 U.S. 19 (1969), and Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, supra, with recognition that each school system must be judged on its own facts. In view of the suggestions in United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 417 F.2d 834, 836-37 (5th Cir. 1969), that "the development of such a [disestablishment] plan in each system can be readily accomplished by local effort" with consideration to be given to the views of "plaintiffs . . . represented by Negro lawyers who reside in the Birmingham area and are familiar with the school systems and the neighborhood patterns," the court also has been mindful of the fact that the plaintiffs are in harmony with the board plan in every respect except faculty assignments and attendance at Birmingham schools by a few Jefferson County residents.

The United States itself, furthermore, made only limited suggestions for changes in the board plan and its witness agreed that "in many areas the plan was indeed quite good." The specific suggestions or objections which were made and as to which evidence was presented will be examined below.

Student Assignments in Elementary Schools. The only elementar school attendance areas as to which there was any dispute were those for Kingston and Gibson and for Bush and Tuxedo. The school board plan proposes that students be assigned to these schools in accordance with the zone attendance areas as drawn for these school on the board's revised map for elementary schools (defendants' exhibit 13). The plaintiffs concurred in the school board's proposal. The United States suggests the pairing of Kingston and Gibson schools (with grades 1-4 attending Kingston and grades 5-8 attending Gibson) and the similar pairing of Tuxedo and Bush school

While recognizing that the United States' proposal would constitute a departure, for only 4 of the 76 elementary schools, from the 8-4 organizational structure existing in the system, the government's witness (who visited Birmingham approximately one day only for examination of its schools) stated that a 4-4-4 organizational structure had been used in some systems in other parts of the country. However, there was substantial and convincing evidence through testimony of educators and traffic engineers familiar with the Birmingham schools and traffic conditions that the pairing of these schools as proposed would be educationally unsound for a number of reasons; that it would result in a severe increase in the exposure of these children, for whom no school transportation is provided, to traffic hazards and accidents; that it would result in additional costs caused by duplication of facilities and instruction and by necessary changes in physical plant; and that the use of a different organizational structure for only 4 schools would create administrative problems. Moreover, the proposed special treatment of only 4 of the 76 schools could affect adversely the acceptability of and results achieved under the entire plan throughout the system. As against these considerations, it is evident that the degree of additional mixing in the system as a whole which might be achieved by the proposed pairing would be small indeed. Three of the 4 schools for which pairing is proposed are already mixed. It may be noted also that the predominantly black character of Tuxedo and Bush schools under the board's plan is the result of black or predominately black federal housing projects, a condition for which neither the school board nor the former system of dual schools is responsible.

It is concluded from all of the evidence on this issue that the pairing of these 4 schools proposed by the United States is not justified in view of the resultant educational, safety, and other problems as compared with the minimal amount of additional mixing which it would achieve and would not be consistent with the "proper operation of the school system as a whole." United States v. Board of Public Instruction of Polk County, 395 F.2d 66, (5th Cir. 1968). The school board's proposed attendance areas for the Kingston, Gibson, Bush and Tuxedo schools therefore will be approved.

The court accordingly approves the attendance areas for student assignments in elementary schools (grades 1-8) as shown on the school board's revised map for elementary schools (defendants' exhibit 13).

Student Assignments in High Schools. The school board proposes the assignment of students to Ensley and Western (Olin) High Schools in accordance with the attendance areas shown on the board's revised high school zone map (defendants' exhibit 12). The plaintiffs agree with the board's proposal. The United States suggests an alternative zone line between Ensley and the Western (Olin) schools as shown on the map of the Ensley area introduced as defendants' exhibit 5.

Both of these schools also will be desegregated under the board's proposed attendance areas. The evidence revealed that the government's proposed zone line would cause severe overcrowdin of the capacities of the non-vocational facilities of Western (Oli whereas the board's revised zone line would be substantially consistent with the capacities of both schools. Western (Olin) is composed of two separate buildings, a non-vocational building and a vocational building, and the capacity of the non-vocational buil is limited. It was shown that the government's proposed zone line would result in a substantial increase at Western (Olin) in the number of students who would elect non-vocational studies, thereby causing the overcrowding of its non-vocational capacity. The boar plan achieves the maximum amount of desegregation consistent with proper educational practices and administration.

The court accordingly approves the attendance areas for stude assignments in high schools (grades 9-12) as shown on the school board's revised map for high schools (defendants' exhibit 12).

School Construction and Site Selection. Among the construction projects set forth in the school board's plan is the proposed construction for Parker High School, consisting of the replacement of a part of the old buildings, remodeling part of the existing facilities, and the expansion of the site as stated in the modified proposal of the board as stated at the hearing and described above. The plaintiffs are in agreement with the reconstruction of Parker as proposed in the school board plan and as thus modified. The United States, which has objected only to the Parker construction project, believes the proposed construction and site location of Parker will serve to minimize desegregation and as presently planned does not meet the requirements of United States

Jefferson County Board of Education, 380 F.2d 385, 395 (5th Cir. 1967), and United States v. Board of Public Construction of Polk County, 395 F.2d 66 (5th Cir. 1968).

The propriety of reconstructing Parker at its present site was first questioned by the United States in early 1969. After a hearing in February 1969 in which some evidence regarding Parker was adduced, the school board was directed by the court to study and submit a report concerning the school construction program. A study then was made by the board staff, with participation by members of the board, to determine whether there was any alternative to the proposed construction of Parker which would achieve greater desegregation. From this study and the evidence developed at the hearing on June 9, 1970, it was shown that the school board did seek to find alternatives to the reconstruction of Parker which would be consistent with the proper operation of the school system as a whole. It is readily apparent that some high school facility is necessary to serve the students living in the Parker area. Because of the concentration of Negroes and the presence of only a few whites in the surrounding areas it simply is not possible to locate a high school facility at any place which could properly serve these students and at the same time achieve an increase in the degree of desegregation. The elimination of Parker at its present site not only would achieve no greater desegregation in the surrounding areas, but it also would cause overcrowding of other high schools. Moreover, the acquisition of a new site would be so expensive that the remaining funds would be insufficient for construction of a building. The existing plant for Parker unquestionabl is inadequate and needful of replacement, the board's efforts to provide these students with a proper facility already has been delayed more than 1 1/2 years by the objection of the United States, and the acquisition of another site and construction there would require another 4 years of delay. The court concludes from all of the evidence that the construction for Parker as proposed by the board will further desegregation to the extent possible and consistent with the proper operation of the school system as a whole, when judged in light of the capacity of existing facilities the residence of the students, and the alternative sites available The school board's proposed construction and expansion of the site will therefore be approved. No objection has been made as to any of the other construction projects set forth in the school board's plan and they also will be approved.

The court therefore approves the construction program on pages 9 and 10 of the school board plan including the proposed reconstruction of Parker High School on its site to be expanded through the board's acquisition of 1^1/2 blocks of property east of the present site across 4th Street North (block 6 of the north half of block 7 of the North Smithfield Survey) and its further acquisition, contingent on funds being made available in the next bond election, of 1/2 block of property (the north half of block 9 of the North Smithfield Survey) north of the present site.

With respect to all future school construction programs, site acquisitions, and consolidations additional to that described in and made a part of the school board plan, the school board will be governed by the following provision prescribed in Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, supra, 419 F.2d at 1218

> SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND
> SITE SELECTION
>
> All school construction, school consolidation, and site selection (including the location of any temporary classrooms) in the system shall be done in a manner which will prevent the recurrence of the dual school structure once this desegregation plan is implemented.

Faculty and Staff Assignments. The United States requests tha for faculty and staff assignments the board plan be changed to provide for assignments based on the ratio prescribed by the United

Jackson Municipal Separate School District, supra, 419 F.2d at 1217-18. The plaintiffs agree with the position of the United States.

Although evidence presented at the hearing casts doubt on the ability of the school board to achieve the ratio prescribed by Singleton for the 1970-1971 school year and indicates that implementation of that ratio in the Birmingham system would result in significant losses of experienced and qualified teaching personnel and in misassignments of teachers to the detriment of the system's educational programs, the decisions of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals have made it clear that the provisions for desegregation of faculty and staff as set forth in Singleton must be incorporated uniformly in the plans of all school stytems in the Fifth Circuit. See, e.g., Valley v. Rapides Parish School Board, ___ F.2d ___ (5th Cir., No. 29237, decided March 6, 1970); United States v. Board of Education of Baldwin County, ___ F.2d ___ (5th Cir., No. 28880, decided March 9, 1970); Davis, et al v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County, et al, ___ F.2d ___ (5th Cir., No. 29332, decided June 8, 1970).

Accordingly, and in conformity with the mandate of the decisions of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, this court must require that, in lieu of the provision at page 8 of the school board plan for assignment of personnel, the plan shall incorporate the following provision prescribed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, supra:

> ### DESEGREGATION OF FACULTY AND OTHER STAFF
>
> The School Board shall announce and implement the following policies:
>
> 1. The principals, teachers, teacher-aides and other staff who work directly with children at a school shall be so assigned that in no case will the racial composition of a staff indicate that a school is intended for Negro students or white students. The district shall assign the staff described above so that the ratio of Negro to white

teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system. The school district shall, to the extent necessary to carry out this desegregation plan, direct members of its staff as a condition of continued employment to accept new assignments.

2. Staff members who work directly with children, and professional staff who work on the administrative level will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race, color, or national origin.

3. If there is to be a reduction in the number of prinicipals, teachers, teacher-aides, or other professional staff employed by the school district which will result in a dismissal or demotion of any such staff members, the staff member to be dismissed or demoted must be selected on the basis of objective and reasonable non-discriminatory standards from among all the staff of the school district. In addition if there is any such dismissal or demotion, no staff vacancy may be filled through recruitment of a person of a race, color, or national origin different from that of the individual dismissed or demoted, until each displaced staff member who is qualified has had an opportunity to fill the vacancy and has failed to accept an offer to do so.

"Demotion" as used above includes any re-assignment (1) under which the staff member receives less pay or has less responsibility than under the assignment he held previously, (2) which requires a lesser degree of skill than did the assignment he held previously, or (3) under which the staff member is asked to teach a subject or grade other than one for which he is certified or for which he has had substantial experience whithin a reasonably current period. In general and depending upon the subject matter involved, five years is such a reasonable period.

Transfers and Attendance Outside System of Residence. The sch board plan also will incorporate the model provision prescribed by *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District*, 419 F.2d at 1218-19, relating to the attendance outside the system of reside The plan already provides that, with certain enumerated minor exceptions, the Birmingham system will not accept non-resident pupils from other school systems during the 1970-71 school year. The exceptions provided for by the board plan relate to (1) twelfth grade pupils who attended Birmingham schools in the eleventh grade during the 1969-70 school year, and (2) the continued attendance during only the 1970-71 school year of certain Jefferson County residents in two Birmingham schools pursuant to an exchange agreement of long standing between the Birmingham and Jefferson County Boards of Education (estimated to include only 229 eleventh and twelfth graders at Jones Valley High School and 52 students at Sherman Heights Elementary School). No party objects to the first exception or to the students at Sherman Heights, but both the United States and the plaintiffs contend that the Singleton provision governing attendance outside the system of residence prevents the attendance during the 1970-71 school year of the few Jefferson County residents at Jones Valley High School. This contention is predicated not on the effect of such attendance on desegregation in the Birmingham system but rather on its effect on desegregation in the Jefferson County system. The court however is unable to conclude from the evidence that the Birmingham school board must discontinue for the 1970-71 school year its accommodation of the Jefferson County students at Jones Valley because: (1) there was no evidence presented in this case that these students' enrollment at Jones Valley in 1970-71 would reduce desegregation in the Jefferson County system; (2) these students are transported by the Jefferson County school system by bus to the two Birmingham schools and appropriate relief, if necessary, could be obtained from that system; and (3) it does not appear that the continued accommodation of these few students for the limited period of the 1970-71 school year could have any appreciable effect on desegregation of either system.

The court approves the provisions of the school board plan for transfers (to which no objection was made), and the plan also will be deemed to incorporate the following provision prescribed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Singleton:

ATTENDANCE OUTSIDE SYSTEM OF RESIDENCE

> If the school district grants transfers to students living in the district for their attendance at public schools outside the district, or if it permits transfers into the district of students who live outside the district, it shall do so on a non-discriminatory basis, except that it shall not consent to transfers where the cumulative effect will reduce desegregation in either district or reenforce the dual school system.

Other Provisions of the Plan. All other provisions of the board's plan are approved, no objections to them having been made by any party and it appearing to the court that they are designed to achieve and promote the conversion to a unitary school system.

It is apparent, and the court so concludes, that the school board plan, as modified in the particulars to which reference is made above, establishes a unitary system of public schools in all respects.

CONCLUSION OF LAW

The plan outlined in the section of this opinion headed "A Unitary System" constitutes a unitary public school system for the City of Birmingham, Alabama, school district.

FINAL JUDGMENT

It is ORDERED, ADJUDGED and DECREED by the Court that:

1. The Board of Education of the City of Birmingham, Alabama, and its officers, agents, servants and employees shall henceforth operate a unitary school system as described in the section of the foregoing Findings of Fact headed "A Unitary System." The boundaries of the student attendance areas shall be as described and shown on the school board's revised attendance maps for high schools (defendant exhibit 12) and elementary schools (defendants' exhibit 13) respectively.

2. The assignment of students and of faculty and staff in accordance with the foregoing plan for "A Unitary System" shall be

effective for the 1970-71 school year beginning September 1970 and thereafter.

3. On November 1, 1970, the Board of Education of the City of Birmingham, Alabama, will file in the office of the clerk of this court a report containing the information specified in Appendix A hereto concerning students, faculty, transfers, attendance outside system of residence, and construction, and the court will retain jurisdiction to review the progress of desegregation.

Done, this the 19th day of June, 1970.

Seybourn H. Lynne
CHIEF JUDGE

APPENDIX A

The reports to the Court shall include the following information:

I.

(a) The number of students by race enrolled in the school district;

(b) The number of students by race enrolled in each school of the district.

II.

(a) The number of full time teachers by race in the district;

(b) The number of full time teachers by race in each school in the district;

(c) The number of part time teachers by race in the district.

III.

State the number of interdistrict transfers granted, the race of the students who were granted such transfers, and the school district to which transfers were allowed.

IV.

Describe all intradistrict transfers requested, granted, denied, together with the reasons therefor, the race of the student involved and the school to which and from which the transfer was requested.

V.

State the additional courses added to each school pursuant to item 2, page 7, of the school board plan, and the reasons for adding such courses.

VI.

Describe any present or proposed construction or expansion of facilities, and the effect of such construction on the desegregation of the school system.

APPENDIX G

Procedure for Compliance with Federal Court Order Regarding Faculty Assignment

ROBERT C. ARTHUR
PRESIDENT
D. R. PHARES
MRS. SAM P. PHELPS
DONALD L. NEWSOM
CLYDE S. KIRBY

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT

BOARD OF EDUCA
P. O. DRAWER 114
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
323-8521

PROCEDURE FOR COMPLIANCE WITH FEDERAL COURT ORDER REGARDING FACULTY ASSIGNMENT

The primary purposes of all re-assignments will be to comply with the court requirements and to retain a program of quality education in every school. The following procedure is designed to achieve these purposes.

1. Although Judge Lynne's order requires that the staff shall be assigned so that the ratio of negro to white teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system it is deemed necessary that a stabilizing number of personnel be retained at each school to assure stability and continuity of programs, high-level instruction and operation and effective assistance to newly assigned staff members. Therefore, a committee composed of the principal and appropriate central office staff will determine the personnel in each school that is to comprise this stabilizing nucleus.

2. Principals, Administrative Assistants, Counselors, special personnel and itinerant teachers will be assigned administratively as required. Insofar as possible, these groups, especially principals, will be considered in the stabilizing nucleus and retained in their present assignments.

3. Transfer of teachers of the visually impaired, the hard of hearing, those with speech problems, the emotionally disturbed and the educable mentally retarded will be made only after careful consideration of their specialty, the availability of qualified replacements, and related considerations.

4. Once the stabilizing nucleus is determined for each school, teachers will be considered for transfer based on qualifications and experience in the Birmingham Schools. Teachers qualified for positions available who have less Birmingham School experience will be considered first for such re-assignments. This procedure will add other qualified teachers to the stabilizing nucleus in each school, thereby assuring a well rounded faculty at every school.

5. As ratios of "substantially the same" are calculated, fractions of numbers will be dropped.

6. Personnel already working in schools with faculties predominately of the opposite race will be considered in the ratio but eliminated from re-assign

7. Teachers may volunteer for re-assignment before assignments are made. They may list two choices and be assigned on the basis of qualifications, seniori and available positions.

8. Informal

APPENDIX H

Teacher Transfers

TEACHER TRANSFERS

A. The practice followed by the Personnel Department of the Birmingham Board of Education is consistant with the mandate as set forth in the Court order dated June 19, 1970.

Desegregation of Faculty, and other Staff (Page 12).

1. The principals, teachers, teacher-aides and other staff who work directly with the children at a school shall be so assigned that in no case will the racial composition of the staff indicate that a school is intended for Negro students or white students. The district shall assign the staff described above so that the ratio of Negro to white teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system. The school district shall, to the extent necessary to carry out this desegregation plan, direct members of its staff as a condition of continued employment to accept new assignments.

2. Staff members who work directly with children, and professional staff who work on the administrative level will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race, color, or national origin.

Also: Section 355 of Chapter V of the Rules and Regulations and Policies of the Birmingham Public Schools reads as follows:

Section 355 - Transfers of Teacher - Any teacher on continuing service status, upon the recommendation of the superintendent and the approval of the employing Board of Education, may be transferred for any succeeding year from one position, school or grade to another by being given written notice of such intention to transfer by the employing board, except that such transfer shall be without loss of status or violation of Contract, and such transfer may not be for political or personal reasons.

B. PROCEDURES:

1. The transfer of a teacher can be considered only when it conforms first, to the best interest of the total school program.

2. All requests for transfers must be made in writing by the teacher requesting the transfer giving his reason, showing how the transfer will conform to the best interest of the total school program.

3. Any teacher or other personnel has the right to request a transfer.

4. The decision to effect the requested transfer will be made by the Superintendent and his staff with the approval of the Board of Education.

5. All requests for transfers should be in the office of Personnel before June 1. However, some consideration might be given to requests made forty-five days prior to the opening of school.

6. The teacher requesting the transfer will be notified in writing if the

transfer is approved.

C. The following lists the priorities under which a transfer is considered.

1. The best interest of the total school program.

2. Teacher's training and experience in the area of request.

3. Ability of the Personnel Division to fill position vacated if transfer is made.

4. Seniority of teachers requesting transfer to the position.

D. When a teaching position becomes available because of retirement, resignation, leave of absence, etc. the following practice is followed in filling the position.

1. The principals of the schools involved in the teacher transfer and placement, are consulted so that any change in faculty will be made in the best interest of the pupils.

2. The qualified teacher with the longest service in the Birmingham Schools, who had been transferred from the school to another school to satisfy the court requirements will be offered the position.

3. If he refuses, the position will be offered to the other qualified teachers, who had been transferred from the school to satisfy the court order in the order of their service in the Birmingham Schools.

4. If no other qualified transferred teachers are available from the school, then the position will be offered to transferred teachers from schools in the adjoining areas until the position is filled.

5. If no qualified transfer teacher is available, a new teacher will be hired for the position.

APPENDIX I

Enrollment Reports for Birmingham Public Schools from 1970-71 through 1973-74.

These reports include a breakdown of student enrollment and faculty composition according to individual school. Each report was submitted in September of the indicated school year and reflects the initital status of enrollment and staff assignments subsequent to the reporting of each to individual schools.

FIRST UNITARY

I.

(a) The number of students by race enrolled in the school district. Principals' Report 9-14-70.

	White	Negro	Total
Birmingham School District	27,962	34,081	62,043

(b) The number of students by race enrolled in each school of the district.

School	White	Negro	Total
Banks High	1,465	101	1,566
Carver High	1	1,363	1,364
Ensley High	1,268	369	1,637
Glenn High	378	360	738
Hayes High	37	1,338	1,375
Huffman High	1,456	13	1,469
Jones Valley High	799	204	1,003
Parker High	0	1,783	1,783
Phillips High	431	1,264	1,695
Ramsay High	568	604	1,172
West End High	984	763	1,747
Western High	1	1,345	1,346
Woodlawn High	1,700	459	2,159
Total High	9,088	9,966	19,054
Elementary			
Avondale	506	155	661
Baker	300	52	352
Barrett	764	167	931
Brown	733	43	776
Bryant	7	201	208
Bush	367	223	590
Calloway	0	488	488
Center Street	3	786	789
Central Park	569	3	572
Christian	491	0	491
Comer	385	27	412
Councill	0	1,026	1,026
Curry	729	101	830
Davis	0	480	480
Dupuy	75	323	398
Eagan	52	286	338
Elyton	117	361	478

School	White	Negro	Total
Fairmont	212	69	281
Fairview	300	0	300
Finley Avenue	5	403	408
Gate City	431	251	682
Gibson	562	59	621
Glen Iris	409	202	611
Going	1,089	0	1,089
Gorgas	159	123	282
Graymont	178	426	604
Green Acres	598	0	598
Hemphill	409	105	514
Hill	0	478	478
Holman	328	90	418
Hudson	0	1,795	1,795
Huffman	655	1	656
Inglenook	630	181	811
Jackson	390	576	966
Jones Valley Elem.	236	228	464
Kennedy	205	119	324
Kingston	3	725	728
Lakeview	212	185	397
Lane	0	105	105
Lee	451	147	598
Lewis	3	1,295	1,298
Lincoln	0	900	900
Martin	0	475	475
McArthur	31	563	594
McCaw	0	711	711
McElwain	631	0	631
Minor	310	0	310
Moore	0	205	205
North Birmingham	206	260	466
North Roebuck	835	34	869
Northside	53	287	340
Norwood	320	163	483
Oliver	0	403	403
Parental	15	15	30
Patterson	41	248	289
Powderly	27	559	586
Powell	137	138	275
Pratt	44	471	515
Price	439	0	439
Princeton	27	142	169
Putnam	458	0	458
Riggins	0	209	209
Riley	2	413	415
Robinson	472	66	538
Scott	3	416	419
Sherman Heights	0	205	205
Shields	11	629	640
Smith	898	0	898
South East Lake	642	0	642

I. (b) Continued

School	White	Negro	Total
Tuggle	3	927	930
Tuxedo	0	386	386
Washington	0	1,041	1,041
West Center Street	3	272	275
Whatley	50	736	786
Wilkerson	0	670	670
Wilson	297	107	404
Wylam	325	161	486
Speech & Hearing	31	18	49
Total Elementary	18,874	24,115	42,989
Grand Total	27,962	34,081	62,043

70-71

II.

(a) The number of full time teachers by race in the district:

	White	Negro	Total
Birmingham School District	1,193	1,215	2,408

(b) The number of full time teachers by race in each school in the district:

School	White	Negro	Total
Banks High	42	25	67
Carver High	22	38	60
Ensley High	41	28	69
Glenn High	29	14	43
Hayes High	22	39	61
Huffman High	38	25	63
Jones Valley High	25	17	42
Parker High	22	55	77
Phillips High	52	28	80
Ramsay High	27	22	49
West End High	44	20	74
Western High	20	50	70
Woodlawn High	56	36	92
Total High	440	407	847
Elementary			
Avondale	13	11	24
Baker	7	5	12
Barrett	20	12	32
Brown	15	9	24
Bryant	4	6	10
Bush	14	8	22
Calloway	8	16	24
Center Street	9	18	27
Central Park	11	7	18
Christian	10	6	16
Comer	9	5	14
Councill	13	22	35
Curry	17	10	27
Davis	7	15	22
Dupuy	6	8	14
Eagan	5	6	11
Elyton	9	6	15

II.

Fairmont	5	4	9
Fairview	5	4	9
Finley Avenue	5	9	14
Gate City	20	8	28
Gibson	20	6	26
Glen Iris	15	10	25
Going	18	15	33
Gorgas	7	4	11
Graymont	6	14	20
Green Acres	11	9	20
Hemphill	13	7	20
Hill	5	15	20
Holman	9	7	16
Hudson	19	36	55
Huffman	13	8	21
Inglenook	18	10	28
Jackson	18	13	31
Jones Valley	10	8	18
Kennedy	7	4	11
Kingston	9	16	25
Lakeview	7	6	13
Lane	2	2	4
Lee	11	8	19
Lewis	15	29	44
Lincoln	9	24	33
Martin	6	11	17
McArthur	7	14	21
McCaw	9	17	26
McElwain	13	7	20
Minor	6	3	9
Moore	2	5	7
North Birmingham	11	8	19
North Roebuck	16	10	26
Northside	4	8	12
Norwood	8	9	17
Oliver	6	10	16
Parental	0	1	1
Patterson	4	5	9
Powderly	6	15	21
Powell	8	4	12
Pratt	6	13	19
Price	7	8	15
Princeton	3	6	9
Putnam	10	6	16
Riggins	3	5	8
Riley	6	11	17
Robinson	16	6	22

Scott	6	10	16
Sherman Heights	3	6	9
Shields	6	18	24
Smith	17	11	28
South East Lake	11	9	20
Tuggle	11	23	34
Tuxedo	5	13	18
Washington	12	29	41
West Center Street	4	6	10
Whatley	9	18	27
Wilkerson	9	13	22
Wilson	9	7	16
Wylam	11	7	18
Homebound	5	2	7
Elyton-Charlanne PH	6	0	6
Lakeview-Spch. & Hear.	18	0	18
Lewis PH	0	2	2
Slossfield-Spch. & Hear.	0	6	6
Total Elementary	753	808	1,561
Grand Total	1,193	1,215	2,408

I.

(a) The number of students by race enrolled in the school district. Principals' Reports 9-10-71.

	White	Negro	Total
Birmingham School District	26,076	33,671	59,747

(b) The number of students by race enrolled in each school of the district.

School	White	Negro	Total
Banks	1,416	151	1,567
Carver	10	1,334	1,344
Ensley	1,248	416	1,664
Glenn	300	451	751
Hayes	27	1,283	1,310
Huffman High	1,727	18	1,745
Jones Valley High	688	285	973
Parker	0	1,662	1,662
Phillips	270	1,375	1,645
Ramsay	543	429	972
West End	833	906	1,739
Western	0	1,385	1,385
Woodlawn	1,634	613	2,247
Homebound High	14	6	20
Total High	8,710	10,314	19,024
Elementary			
Arthur	496	0	496
Avondale	465	141	606
Baker	253	44	297
Barrett	679	163	842
Brown	621	29	650
Bryant	7	171	178
Bush	302	223	525
Calloway	0	608	608
Center Street	9	712	721
Central Park	593	6	599
Christian	449	0	449
Comer	334	26	360
Councill	0	948	948
Curry	632	149	781
Davis	1	459	460
Dupuy	21	349	370
Egan	65	289	354
Elyton	124	313	437
Fairmont	178	72	250
Fairview	268	0	268

I. (b) Continued

School	White	Negro	Total
Finley Avenue	2	350	352
Gate City	377	299	676
Gibson	580	51	631
Glen Iris	339	200	539
Going	546	0	546
Gorgas	156	112	268
Graymont	168	370	538
Green Acres	574	0	574
Hemphill	414	100	514
Hill	0	483	483
Holman	323	102	425
Hudson	0	1,500	1,500
Huffman	593	1	594
Inglenook	550	192	742
Jackson	167	835	1,002
Jones Valley	209	234	443
Kennedy	215	102	317
Kingston	12	662	674
Lakeview	135	192	327
Lee	401	135	536
Lewis	2	1,283	1,285
Lincoln	0	837	837
Martin	2	386	388
McArthur	25	515	540
McCaw	0	651	651
McElwain	595	0	595
Minor	307	3	310
Moore	0	189	189
North Birmingham	122	302	424
North Roebuck	780	41	821
Northside	66	295	361
Norwood	216	294	510
Oliver	0	383	383
Parental	16	12	28
Patterson	22	228	250
Powderly	13	576	589
Powell	124	117	241
Pratt	34	549	583
Price	454	4	458
Princeton	38	128	166
Putnam	439	0	439
Riggins	0	206	206
Riley	3	418	421
Robinson	483	176	659
Scott	1	388	389
Sherman Heights	0	128	128
Shields	13	570	583
Smith	585	0	585
South East Lake	622	0	622

I. (b) Continued

School	White	Negro	Total
Tuggle	2	788	790
Tuxedo	0	369	369
Washington	0	998	998
West Center Street	0	253	253
Whatley	37	736	773
Wilkerson	0	620	620
Wilson	289	113	402
Wright	464	0	464
Wylam	308	161	469
Homebound	5	2	7
Speech and Hearing	41	16	57
Total Elementary	17,366	23,357	40,723
Grand Total	26,076	33,671	59,747

(a) The number of full time teachers by race in the district:

	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL
Birmingham School District	1232	1199	2431

(b) The number of full time teachers by race in each school in the district:

School	White	Negro	Total
Banks	34	33	67
Carver	28	28	56
Ensley	35	34	69
Glenn	21	20	41
Hayes	30	30	60
Huffman	37	37	74
Jones Valley	23	22	45
Parker	36	40	76
Phillips	41	35	76
Ramsay	23	22	45
West End	39	38	77
Western	36	40	76
Woodlawn	55	47	102
Total High School	439	425	864
Elementary			
Arthur	8	8	16
Avondale	10	10	20
Baker	6	5	11
Barrett	14	14	28
Brown	11	10	21
Bryant	4	5	9
Bush	10	9	19
Calloway	12	13	25
Center Street	11	13	24
Central Park	9	9	18
Christian	8	7	15
Comer	6	6	12
Councill	15	17	32
Curry	14	13	27
Davis	10	11	21
Dupuy	7	8	15
Eagan	6	7	13
Elyton	7	8	15
Fairmont	4	4	8
Fairview	5	4	9
Finley Avenue	6	6	12
Gate City	12	13	25
Gibson	11	10	21
Glen Iris	12	11	23
Going	9	8	17
Gorgas	5	5	10

Graymont	10	11	21
Green Acres	10	9	19
Hemphill	8	9	17
Hill	10	10	20
Holman	7	7	14
Hudson	24	25	49
Huffman	10	9	19
Inglenook	12	12	24
Jackson	17	16	33
Jones Valley	8	7	15
Kennedy	7	5	12
Kingston	11	12	23
Lakeview	7	8	15
Lee	10	9	19
Lewis	25	28	53
Lincoln	18	20	38
Martin	8	9	17
McArthur	10	10	20
McCaw	13	14	27
McElwain	10	9	19
Minor	5	5	10
Moore	4	5	9
North Birmingham	9	8	17
North Roebuck	13	13	26
Northside	6	7	13
Norwood	9	9	18
Oliver	7	8	15
Patterson	4	5	9
Powderly	11	10	21
Powell	5	4	9
Pratt	10	12	22
Price	8	7	15
Princeton	5	4	9
Putnam	7	7	14
Riggins	4	5	9
Riley	7	8	15
Robinson	10	9	19
Scott	7	8	15
Sherman Heights	4	5	9
Shields	12	13	25
Smith	10	9	19
South East Lake	10	9	19
Tuggle	13	15	28
Tuxedo	9	10	19
Washington	18	22	40
West Center Street	5	6	11
Whatley	12	13	25
Wilkerson	11	13	24
Wilson	7	7	14
Wylam	9	8	17
Wright	8	7	15
Total Elementary	726	744	1470

//

II.

Adult Workshop EMR	1	0	1
Pratt EMR	1	1	2
Homebound	4	4	8
Calloway EMR	0	1	1
Barrett EMR	1	0	1
Bryant EMR	0	1	1
Bush EMR	2	0	2
Gate City EMR	2	1	3
Gibson EMR	2	1	3
Hemphill EMR	1	1	2
Kennedy EMR	2	1	3
Lakeview EMR	1	1	2
Lewis EMR	1	1	2
Lincoln EMR	1	1	2
Martin EMR	1	0	1
McArthur EMR	0	1	1
Tuxedo EMR	1	1	2
Washington EMR	1	1	2
Enrichment	6	0	6
Elyton Charlanne Phys. Hand.	3½	1	4½
Lewis-Slossfield Phys.Hand.	1½	1	2½
Lakeview Spch.& Hear.(Deaf Edu.)	9	0	9
Lewis-Slossfield Spch.& Hrg.	4	5	9
Lakeview Spch.& Hrg.	11	2	13
Barrett Partially Seeing	1	0	1
Tuggle Partially Seeing	1	1	2
Glen Iris LD	1	0	1
Barrett Blind	1	0	1
South East Lake LD	1	0	1
Total Elem. Special Edu.	62	27	89
Parker H. S. EMR	1	2	3
Phillips H.S. EMR	4	1	5
Total High School Sp. Edu.	5	3	8
Total Special Education	67	30	97
Total High School	439	425	864
Total Elementary	726	744	1470
Grand Total	1232	1199	2431

I.

(a) The number of students by race enrolled in the school district. Principals' Reports 9-13-72.

	White	Negro	Total
Birmingham School District	23,486	34,284	57,770

(b) The number of students by race enrolled in each school of the district.

HIGH SCHOOLS	White	Negro	Total
Banks	1,352	132	1,484
Carver	1	1,362	1,363
Ensley	1,139	432	1,571
Glenn	273	452	725
Hayes	12	1,211	1,223
Huffman	1,810	18	1,828
Jones Valley	533	466	999
Parker	--	1,673	1,673
Phillips	152	1,436	1,588
Ramsay	348	635	983
West End	653	1,020	1,673
Western	--	1,370	1,370
Woodlawn	1,601	575	2,176
Homebound	19	7	26
Total High	7,893	10,789	18,682

ELEMENTARY			
Arthur	508	2	510
Avondale	428	115	543
Baker	219	38	257
Barrett	629	126	755
Brown	610	39	649
Bush	290	230	520
Calloway	--	522	522
Center Street	12	650	662
Central Park	515	6	521
Christian	392	--	392
Comer	282	34	316
Councill	--	826	826
Curry	608	165	773
Davis	--	388	388
Dupuy	10	387	397
Eagan	21	387	408
Elyton	115	226	341
Fairmont	144	74	218
Fairview	277	8	285
Finley Avenue	3	318	321
Gate City	313	365	678
Gibson	556	70	626

I. (b) Continued

SCHOOL	White	Negro	Total
Glen Iris	304	135	439
Going	539	—	539
Gorgas	137	89	226
Graymont	145	420	565
Green Acres	521	—	521
Hemphill	396	96	492
Hill	—	429	429
Holman	282	67	349
Hudson	—	1,382	1,382
Huffman	530	1	531
Inglenook	500	187	687
Jackson	56	939	995
Jones Valley	180	289	469
Kennedy	189	171	360
Kingston	19	667	686
Lakeview	108	167	275
Lee	349	145	494
Lewis	8	959	967
Lincoln	—	734	734
Martin	2	348	350
McArthur	20	512	532
McCaw	—	598	598
McElwain	527	—	527
Minor	293	10	303
Moore	—	199	199
North Birmingham	86	385	471
North Roebuck	641	41	682
Northside	49	253	302
Norwood	122	450	572
Oliver	—	363	363
Parental	6	15	21
Patterson	23	199	222
Powderly	3	879	882
Powell	89	153	242
Pratt	42	510	552
Price	364	20	384
Princeton	29	136	165
Putnam	424	-	424
Riggins	—	591	591
Riley	5	380	385
Robinson	454	163	617
Scott	—	382	382
Sherman Heights	—	145	145
Shields	7	559	566
Smith	538	—	538
South East Lake	572	—	572
Tuggle	2	687	689

I. (b) Continued

SCHOOL	White	Negro	Total
Tuxedo	—	396	396
Washington	—	951	951
West Center Street	—	222	222
Whatley	11	719	730
Wilkerson	—	573	573
Wilson	212	144	356
Wylam	309	148	457
Wright	521	—	521
Spaulding	—	490	490
Homebound	4	6	10
Speech and Hearing	43	15	58
Total Elementary	15,593	23,495	39,088
Grand Total	23,486	34,284	57,770

11-2-72
CEM/fw

Birmingham School District by Race and by Schools: TEACHERS

SCHOOL	NEGRO	TITLE PROG.	WHITE	TITLE PROG.	TOTAL	TITLE PROG
Banks High School	31	0	35	0	66	0
Carver High School	32	0	23	1	55	1
Ensley High School	34	1	36	2	70	3
Glenn High School	15	0	22	1	37	1
Hayes High School	32	2	28	1	60	3
Huffman High School	33	0	45	0	73	0
Jones Valley High School	20	0	25	0	45	0
Parker High School	43	0	40	2	83	2
Phillips High School	27	0	37	0	74	0
Ramsay High School	20	0	23	2	43	2
West End High School	37	0	38	1	75	1
Western High School	46	1	26	2	72	3
Woodlawn High School	41	0	52	2	93	2
Total High Schools	421	4	430	14	851	18
Arthur Elementary	8	0	9	0	17	0
Avondale Elementary	10	0	10	0	20	0
Baker Elementary	5	1	6	0	11	1
Barrett Elementary	13	0	18	1	31	1
Brown Elementary	10	0	11	0	21	0
Bush Elementary	10	2	13	2	23	4
Calloway Elementary	13	2	9	0	22	2
Center Street Elementary	13	1	12	0	25	1
Central Park Elementary	8	0	11	0	19	0
Christian Elementary	6	0	8	0	14	0
Comer Elementary	5	0	7	0	12	0
Councill Elementary	20	2	15	0	35	2
Curry Elementary	14	1	14	2	28	3
Davis Elementary	10	3	6	0	16	3
Dupuy Elementary	8	0	6	0	14	0
Eagan Elementary	8	1	7	0	15	1
Elyton Elementary	7	1	11	0	18	1
Fairmont Elementary	4	0	5	0	9	0
Fairview Elementary	4	0	6	0	10	0
Finley Avenue Elementary	7	1	6	0	13	1
Gate City Elementary	14	6	15	4	29	8
Gibson Elementary	12	2	14	1	26	3
Glen Iris Elementary	10	3	11	1	21	4
Going Elementary	8	0	10	0	18	0
Gorgas Elementary	4	1	5	0	9	1
Graymont Elementary	11	1	9	0	20	1
Green Acres Elementary	8	0	10	0	18	0
Hemphill Elementary	8	0	12	2	20	2
Hill Elementary	9	3	7	1	16	4
Holman Elementary	5	0	7	0	12	0
Homebound	4	0	5	0	9	0
Hudson Elementary	28	3	20	1	48	4
Huffman Elementary	8	0	10	0	18	0
Inglenook Elementary	12	3	13	3	25	6
Jackson Elementary	18	1	17	0	35	1

(continued)

CEM/fw

Birmingham School District by Race and by Schools (continued)

SCHOOL	NEGRO	TITLE PROG.	WHITE	TITLE PROG.	TOTAL	TITLE PR
Jones Valley Elementary	8	0	11	2	19	2
Kennedy Elementary	7	1	8	0	15	1
Kingston Elementary	14	1	12	0	26	1
Lakeview Elementary	5	0	7	1	12	1
Lakeview Speech & hearing	2	0	21	0	23	0
Lee Elementary	9	1	11	0	20	1
Lewis Elementary	23	2	17	2	40	4
Lincoln Elementary	19	4	13	0	32	4
Martin Elementary	9	2	6	0	15	2
McArthur Elementary	10	2	10	0	20	2
McCaw Elementary	12	1	11	2	23	3
McElwain Elementary	8	0	11	0	19	0
Minor Elementary	5	0	6	0	11	0
Moore Elementary	6	2	4	0	10	2
North Birmingham Elementary	10	1	10	2	20	3
North Reobuck Elementary	11	0	12	0	23	0
Northside Elementary	7	1	5	0	12	1
Norwood Elementary	10	1	10	0	20	1
Oliver Elementary	9	2	6	1	15	3
Patterson Elementary	6	1	4	0	10	1
Powderly Elementary	18	1	12	0	30	1
Powell Elementary	5	0	7	3	12	3
Pratt Elementary	13	2	9	0	22	2
Price Elementary	6	0	8	0	14	0
Princeton Elementary	4	0	5	2	9	2
Putnam Elementary	7	0	8	0	15	0
Riggins Elementary	11	0	10	1	21	1
Riley Elementary	9	1	7	1	16	2
Robinson Elementary	8	0	13	0	21	0
Scott Elementary	9	2	7	0	16	2
Sherman Heights Elementary	5	3	2	0	7	3
Shields Elementary	14	2	9	0	23	2
Smith Elementary	8	0	10	0	18	0
South East Lake Elementary	7	0	11	0	18	0
Speech & Hearing Center	2	0	21	0	23	0
Tuggle Elementary	15	1	10	0	25	1
Tuxedo Elementary	10	1	6	0	16	1
Washington Elementary	22	4	15	0	37	4
West Center Street Elementary	6	1	4	0	10	1
Whatley Elementary	13	0	11	0	24	0
Wilkerson Elementary	12	1	11	0	23	1
Wilson Elementary	6	2	9	1	15	3
Wright Elementary	8	0	10	0	18	0
Wylam Elementary	7	0	10	1	17	1
Spaulding Elementary	9	0	8	0	17	0
Total Elementary Schools	764	79	762	37	1526	116
Total High Schools	421	4	430	14	851	18
Total All Schools	1185	83	1192	51	2377	134

(Holy Family - Mrs. Gwendolyn White - B)

HS:BF
9-26-73

I.

(a) The number of students by race enrolled in the school district. Principals' Reports 9-12-73.

	White	Negro	Total
Birmingham School District	20,867	33,621	54,488

(b) The number of students by race enrolled in each school of the district.

HIGH SCHOOLS	White	Negro	Total
Banks	1,291	128	1,419
Carver	2	1,336	1,338
Ensley	1,064	448	1,512
Glenn	197	476	673
Hayes	9	1,164	1,173
Huffman	1,862	25	1,887
Jones Valley	427	530	957
Parker	—	1,574	1,574
Phillips	84	1,451	1,535
Ramsay	315	618	933
West End	506	1,073	1,579
Western (Jackson-Olin)	—	1,282	1,282
Woodlawn	1,403	610	2,013
Homebound	24	12	36
Workshop, Inc.	8	10	18
Total High	7,192	10,737	17,929
ELEMENTARY			
Arthur	543	2	545
Avondale	344	73	417
Baker	177	42	219
Barrett	568	125	693
Brown	545	47	592
Bush	304	241	545
Calloway	—	494	494
Center Street	21	601	622
Central Park	502	12	514
Christian	353	—	353
Comer	242	35	277
Councill	—	755	755
Curry	541	148	689
Davis	—	368	368
Dupuy	6	364	370
Eagan	24	386	410
Elyton	87	256	343
Fairmont	117	89	206
Fairview	252	17	269

I. (b) Continued

SCHOOL	White	Negro	Total
Finley Avenue	—	289	289
Gate City	200	406	606
Gibson	499	72	571
Glen Iris	199	86	285
Going	518	—	518
Gorgas	103	84	187
Graymont	86	458	544
Green Acres	459	—	459
Hemphill	339	86	425
Hill	—	426	426
Holman	238	64	302
Hudson	—	1,256	1,256
Huffman	470	9	479
Inglenook	499	175	674
Jackson	24	1,007	1,031
Jones Valley	133	306	439
Kennedy	147	139	286
Kingston	13	619	632
Lakeview	92	174	266
Lee	269	144	413
Lewis	8	825	833
Lincoln	—	661	661
Martin	—	312	312
McArthur	18	531	549
McCaw	—	515	515
McElwain	459	—	459
Minor	311	14	325
Moore	—	187	187
North Birmingham	63	479	542
North Roebuck	557	44	601
Northside	26	229	255
Norwood	60	552	612
Oliver	—	327	327
Parental	16	14	30
Patterson	17	197	214
Powderly	—	834	834
Powell	59	182	241
Pratt	41	487	528
Price	265	90	355
Princeton	13	122	135
Putnam	354	—	354
Riggins	—	561	561
Riley	—	384	384
Robinson	379	152	531
Scott	—	379	379
Sherman Heights	—	132	132
Shields	8	535	543
Smith	502	—	502
South East Lake	542	2	544
Spaulding	—	511	511
Tuggle	—	677	677

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I. (b) Continued

SCHOOL	White	Negro	Total
Tuxedo	—	393	393
Washington	—	895	895
West Center Street	—	202	202
Whatley	15	706	721
Wilkerson	—	513	513
Wilson	154	194	348
Wright	511	—	511
Wylam	266	142	408
Epic	71	27	98
Homebound	6	4	10
Speech and Hearing	40	18	58
Total Elementary	13,675	22,884	36,559
Grand Total	20,867	33,621	54,488

II.

(a) The number of full time teachers by race in the district - 1973-74 (as of October 2, 1973):

	White	Negro	Total
Birmingham School District	1,125	1,157	2,282

(b) The number of full time teachers by race in each school in the district:

HIGH SCHOOLS	White	Negro	Total
Banks	37	29	66
Carver	24	37	61
Ensley	38	32	70
Glenn	27	14	41
Hayes	28	31	59
Huffman	51	33	84
Jones Valley	24	21	45
Parker	34	44	78
Phillips	36	36	72
Ramsay	24	20	44
West End	38	36	74
Jackson-Olin	23	47	70
Woodlawn	54	34	88
Holy Family		1	1
Total High	438	415	853
ELEMENTARY			
Arthur	10	10	20
Avondale	8	8	16
Baker	5	4	9
Barrett	14	11	25
Brown	11	10	21
Bush	9	9	18
Calloway	8	10	18
Center Street	11	14	25
Central Park	10	9	19
Christian	7	6	13
Comer	6	4	10
Councill	13	16	29
Curry	15	15	30
Davis	6	9	15
Dupuy	7	7	14
Eagan	7	8	15
Elyton	6	7	13
EPIC	8	6	14
East Lake Kindergarten	3	3	6
Fairmont	3	6	9
Fairview	5	5	10
Finley Avenue	5	6	11
Gate City	12	11	23
Gibson	11	11	22

II. (b) Continued

School	White	Negro	Total
Glen Iris	8	5	13
Going	10	9	19
Gorgas	4	5	9
Graymont	7	12	19
Green Acres	10	8	18
Hemphill	8	8	16
Hill	9	11	20
Holman	8	5	13
Hudson	21	30	51
Huffman	9	8	17
Inglenook	13	12	25
Inglenook Dudley Kindergarten	3	3	6
Jackson	18	18	36
Jones Valley	9	8	17
Kennedy	5	5	10
Kingston	10	14	24
Lakeview	5	4	9
Lee	8	6	14
Lewis	15	18	33
Lincoln	10	14	24
Martin	5	7	12
McArthur	9	11	20
McCaw	8	11	19
McElwain	9	9	18
Minor	6	5	11
Moore	4	4	8
North Birmingham	10	10	20
North Roebuck	11	11	22
Northside	4	6	10
Norwood	11	12	23
Oliver	8	9	17
Patterson	4	5	9
Powderly	14	16	30
Powell	6	4	10
Pratt	9	10	19
Price	7	6	13
Princeton	5	5	10
Putnam	7	6	13
Riggins	11	11	22
Riley	6	10	16
Robinson	10	10	20
Scott	7	10	17
Sherman Heights	2	5	7
Shields	11	13	24
Smith	9	9	18
South East Lake	12	10	22
Spaulding	9	10	19
Tuggle	10	14	24
Tuxedo	6	8	14

II. (b) Continued

School	White	Negro	Total
Washington	12	22	34
West Center Street	5	4	9
Whatley	13	14	27
Wilkerson	9	11	20
Wilson	9	8	17
Wright	10	9	19
Wylam	9	9	18
Total Elementary	687	742	1,429
Total High School	438	415	853
Total Elementary	687	742	1,429
Total All Schools	1,125	1,157	2,282

(Holy Family - Mrs. Gwendolyn White - B and 1 B Aide)

11

APPENDIX J-1

Program Outline for the Preparation of Principals, Supervisors and Directors for Desegregation of Schools.

SHOP: P. S. D. RESOURCE TEAM - June 2 and 3 Tuesday and Wednesday 8:00-1:00 Board of Education Auditorium
PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 125 Principals, Supervisors and Directors

RAM: Funds Requested only for 20 supervisors not on payroll

	TIME	CONTENT	STRUCTURE	BY WHOM	METHOD	TO MEET OBJECTIVES
2	8:00- 8:15	Orientation	Entire Group	ICOM		
	8:15	Report from Principals Leadership Group		Barrett-Norman Grier	Transparency	
	8:45- 9:15	Problem # 1	Small Groups	Group Leaders	Discussions	
	9:15- 9:45	Problem Solutions	I,II,III,IV, V,VI,VII			
	9:45-10:15	Break				
	10:15-10:45	Problem # 2	Small Groups	Group Leaders	Discussions	
	10:45-11:15	Solutions	I,II,III,IV, V,VI,VII			
	11:15-11:50	Problem # 3	Small Groups	New Group Leaders	Discussions	
	11:50-12:20	Problem Solutions	Inter-changed			
	12:20-12:40	Film	Biracial	Icom Staff	Film	
	12:40-	Wrap Up	Entire Group			
3	8:00- 8:15	Orientation	Entire Group	Icom,		
	8:15- 8:20	"Yesterdays Gleanings"	Entire Group	Clerical Staff	Handouts	
	8:20- 8:45	Problems already faced		Holland-Grier-Loranz-Magnuson Bailey	Slides, Tapes	
	8:45- 9:15	Problem # 4	Small Groups	New Group Leaders	Discussion	
	9:15- 9:45	Solutions	Inter-changed Biracial			
	9:45-10:15	Break				
	10:15-10:45	Problem # 5	Small Groups	High School		
	11:45-11:15	Solutions	Inter-changed	Principal Chm.		
	11:15-	Chg. Groups	Geo. Areas			
	11:20-11:40	Questions previously posed				
	11:40-12:20	Answered				
	12:20-12:40	Film etc.	Entire Group	Icom	Film	
	12:40-	Wrap up--Todays Gleanings		Clerical Staff		

APPENDIX J-2

Program Outline for the Preparation of School Leadership Group (500 members from 89 schools) for Desegregation of Schools.

CHOOL LEADERSHIP GROUP (SLG) APPENDIX

ORKSHOP: June 15-19 Monday-Friday 1 P.M. - 6 P.M. PHILLIPS HIGH SCHOOL

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 500 Team members from 89 Schools (13 High - 76 Elementary)

p. 1

ROGRAM: Brochure containing content and organization plus names of participants will be provided

ATE	TIME	CONTENT	STRUCTURE	BY WHOM	METHOD	OBJECTIVES TO BE MET	FUNDS REQUIRED
-15	1-1:30	REGISTRATION					
	1:30-1:50	ORIENTATION	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	DR. CHRISTIAN	PLANNED PRESENTATION	1, 7, 10	$15 for 500 - $7,50 no funds for speake $25 for 40 FACs
	1:55-2:30	THE PLAN	SAME	DR. SPARKS	PLANNED PRESENTATION INC. VISUALS	9, 10	no funds for speake
	2:30-2:45	INTRODUCTION OF WORKSHOP STAFF	SAME	DR. MATHERSON DR. PHILLIPS			no funds
	2:45-3:15	BREAK					
	3:15-4:45	TALENT SHOWCASE	ENTIRE GROUP seated according to preplanned interracial pattern	BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS	MUSIC, DANCE, DRAMA, DEBATE, ART, FASHIONS	1, 2, 10	no stipend-funds to purchase small memento for student participant
	4:50-5:50	FENCES	ENTIRE GROUP	GROUP OF ACTORS	DRAMA	1, 10	
	5:50-6:00	WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND WHERE WE ARE GOING	ENTIRE GROUP	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	TALK	1, 10	
	CHECK OUT						
16	CHECK IN						
	1:00-2:00	LOOK AT US We are different but alike	ENTIRE GROUP Seated according to preplanned interracial pattern	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	CREATIVE REPORT ON SURVEY OF VALUES (BLACK & WHITE STUDENTS)	1, 10	$15 for 500 - $7,500
	2:00-3:00	SOME PROBLEMS OF THE BLACK MAN IN OUR COMMUNITY	SAME AS ABOVE	URBAN LEAGUE	TALK - SLIDES	1,10	no funds required

6-16	3:00-3:30	BREAK					
	3:30-4:30	ANXIETY AND HOW TO HANDLE IT	SAME AS ABOVE	A GOOD PSYCHIATRIST	LECTURE AND USE OF BOOKLET PREPARED BY ICON	1, 10	$50 consultants f
	4:30-4:45	MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACE - PARTICIPANTS GROUPED ACCORDING TO SCHOOLS, COMMUNITY, ETC.					
	4:45-5:45	MY FEARS AND HOW TO HANDLE THEM	20 GROUPS OF 25 EACH	DISCUSSION LED BY INTERRACIAL TEAM OF 2 FACs	DISCUSSION	1, 2, 3, 10	$25 for 40 FACs
	5:45-6:00 CHECK OUT	GROUP REPORT TO BE PREPARED - FEARS LISTED ON NEWS PRINT ALONG WITH SUGGESTED HANDLING					
6-17	1:00-1:10	CHECK IN					$15 for 500
	1:10-1:40	REPORT ON OUR FEARS ESSSION	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish (make count)	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	PLANNED PRESENTATION INC. VISUALS	1, 10	no funds for prog
	1:40-2:40	IT DID NOT HAPPEN TO ME	ENTIRE GROUP	PANEL OF TEACHERS WHO HAVE MADE TRANSITION SUCCESSFULLY	PANEL	1, 3, 10	no funds for prog
	2:40-3:10	BREAK					
	3:10-4:10	LEARNING TO WORK TOGETHER (Principles of group dynamics)	ENTIRE GROUP Preplanned seating	NTL REP.	LECTURE & DEMONSTRATION	1, 2, 10	$100 consultants
	4:10-4:20	MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACE - PARTICIPANTS REMAIN IN SAME GROUP THEY WERE IN YESTERDAY					
	4:10-5:30	BARRIERS WHICH PREVENT OUR WORKING TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY AND STRATEGIES FOR CROSSING THEM	20 GROUPS OF 25 EACH	DISCUSSION LED BY FACs	GROUP DISCUSSION	1, 2, 3, 10	$25 for 40 FACs
	5:30-6:00 CHECK OUT	PREPARATION OF GROUP REPORT - PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR HANDLING LISTED ON NEWS PRINT					

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP GROUP APPENDIX p.8

6-18	1:00 :10	CHECK IN					$15 f.. 500
	1:10-2:00	REPORT ON BARRIERS AND STRATEGIES	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	TALK, SLIDES, ROLE PLAYING	1, 2, 3, 10	no funds
	2:05-3:00	LANGUAGE AND SPEECH PATTERNS	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	DR. LAURA GAINES	TALK	4, 10	consultant's fee
	3:30-4:30	BUILDING A NEW VOCABULARY	20 GROUPS OF 25 EACH	DISCUSSION LED BY FACs	GROUP DISCUSSION	1, 3, 4, 10	$25 for 40 FACs
	4:30-5:00	PREPARE GROUP REPORT ON NEGATIVE WORDS AND MANNERISMS					
	5:00-5:45	FACILITATING COMMUNICATION IN OUR SCHOOL	89 GROUPS OF 5 EACH	INFORMAL DISCUSSION		1, 3, 4, 10	
	5:45-6:00 CHECK OUT	PREPARE GROUP REPORT ON WHAT SCHOOL PLANS TO DO TO FACILITATE COMMUNICATION					
6-19	1:00-1:10	CHECK IN					$15 for 500
	1:10-1:40	REPORT ON NEGATIVE WORDS & FACILITATING PLANS	ENTIRE GROUP Planned seating	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	VISUALS, BROCHURE TO BE GIVEN OUT PLANNED PRESENTATION	1, 3, 4, 10	
	1:40-2:40	LEARNING TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER	ENTIRE GROUP Planned seating	DR. LAURA GAINES	TALK	1, 4, 10	Consultant's fee
	2:40-3:10	BREAK					
	3:10-4:10	TEACHING TECHNIQUES & APPROACHES WHICH HAVE WORKED IN INTERRACIAL SETTING	ENTIRE GROUP Seated as they wish	TEACHERS TO DEMONSTRATE, DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE TO PLAN	PLANNED PRESENTATION, DEMONSTRATION	1, 5, 6, 8, 10	no funds for teachers
	4:10-4:20	MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACES					
	4:20-5:15	HOW CAN WE ORGANIZE TO MEET OUR NEW PROBLEMS?	13 GROUPS High School with feeder schools	GROUP DISCUSSION LED BY FACs	DISCUSSION	1, 2, 3, 10	$25 for 40 FACs

Appendix P

6-19	5:15-5:30	PREPARE GROUP REPORT					
	5:30-6:00	WHAT HAVE WE ACCOMPLISHED?	ENTIRE GROUP Seated as they wish	DR. CHRISTIAN DR. SPARKS DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	PANEL	1, 7, 10	no funds for spea
	CHECK OUT						

APPENDIX J-3

Program Outline for the Preparation of 100 High School Student Leaders for Desegregation of Schools.

STUDENT WORKSHOP: June 22-26 Monday-Friday 1 P.M. - 5 P.M. PHILLIPS HIGH SCHOOL APPENDIX
p. 1
PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 100 High School student leaders from 13 High Schools to be invited by letter from Superintendent of Schools prior to June 1, 1970

PROGRAM: Written brochure containing content and organization plus names of participants will be provided

DATE	TIME	CONTENT	STRUCTURE	BY WHOM	METHOD	OBJECTIVES TO BE MET	FUNDS REQUIRED
6-22	1:00-1:30	REGISTRATION					no stipend to stu
	1:00-1:30	MUSIC	ENTIRE GROUP	MUSIC GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION	1, 10	$20 to 12 FACs
	1:30-1:50	ORIENTATION	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	DR. CHRISTIAN	PLANNED PRESENTATION	1, 7, 10	no funds
	1:55-2:30	THE PLAN	SAME AS ABOVE	DR. SPARKS	LECTURE, VISUALS	9, 10	no funds
	2:30-2:45	INTRODUCTION OF WORKSHOP STAFF	SAME AS ABOVE	DR. MATHERSON DR. PHILLIPS			
	2:45-3:15	BREAK - MUSIC AND COKES					
	3:15-4:45	TALENT SHOWCASE	ENTIRE GROUP seated according to preplanned inter-racial pattern	BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS	MUSIC, DANCE, DRAMA, DEBATE, ART, FASHIONS	1, 10	no funds
	4:45-5:00	WHERE HAVE WE BEEN AND WHERE WE ARE GOING	ENTIRE GROUP same as above	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	PLANNED PRESENTATION	1, 10	
	CHECK OUT						
6-23	1:00-1:15	REGISTRATION					no stipends for students
	1:00-1:30	MUSIC	ENTIRE GROUP seated according to plan	MUSIC GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION	1, 10	
	1:30-2:30	LEARNING TO WORK TOGETHER (Principles of group dynamics)	ENTIRE GROUP seated according to plan	NTL REP.	PLANNED PRESENTATION		

6-23	2:30-3:00	BREAK - COKES, MUSIC AND MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACE					
	3:00-4:30	BARRIERS WHICH PREVENT OUR WORKING TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY AND STRATEGIES FOR CROSSING THEM	6 GROUPS OF APPROX. 15 EACH	GROUP DISCUSSION TURNED ON BY FACs	GROUP DISCUSSION	1, 2,3,10	$20 for 12 FACs
	4:30-5:00	TURN OFF AND PREPARE REPORT					
	CHECK OUT						
6-24	1:00-1:30	CHECK IN AND MUSIC	ENTIRE GROUP Preplanned seating	MUSIC GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION	1, 10	no stipend for students
	1:30-2:00	REPORT ON BARRIERS AND STRATEGIES	SAME AS ABOVE	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	CREATIVE APPROACH	1, 10	
	2:00-2:30	TASK DESCRIPTION FOR REMAINDER OF WORKSHOP	SAME AS ABOVE	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	PLANNED PRESENTATION then drawing of task* by student from each group	10	

*TASKS: Develop a plan for welcoming and orienting new students
Make posters and write slogans to create better interracial understanding among students
Write songs to create better interracial understanding among students
Write a 25 minute play or skit to create better interracial understanding among students
Write poems or jingles to create better understanding among students
Write a 25 minute play or skit to create better interracial understanding among students
(2 groups will be assigned this same task)

2:30-3:00	BREAK - COKES, MUSIC AND MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACE					
3:00-5:00	WORK ON ASSIGNED TASKS	6 GROUPS	GROUP ACTIVITIES SPARKED BY FACs	CREATIVE ACTIVITIES	2,3,4,10	$20 for 12 FACS funds for materials
CHECK OUT						

STUDENT WORKSHOP

APPENDIX. p 3

6-25	1:00-1:30	CHECK IN AND MUSIC	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	MUSIC GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION	1	no stipends for students
	1:30-3:00	WORK ON ASSIGNED TASK	6 GROUPS same composition	GROUP ACTIVITIES SPARKED BY INTER-RACIAL TEAM	CREATIVE ACTIVITIES	2,3,4, 10	$20 for 12 FACs
	3:00-3:30	BREAK - COKES, MUSIC					
	3:30-5:00	WORK ON ASSIGNED TASK	6 GROUPS	GROUP ACTIVITIES SPARKED BY INTER-RACIAL TEAM	CREATIVE ACTIVITIES	2,3,4 10	
	CHECK OUT						
6-26	1:00-1:30	CHECK IN AND MUSIC	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	MUSIC GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION	1, 10	no stipends for students
	1:30-3:00	SHOW AND TELL	GROUPS 1,2,3			1,2,3,10	
	3:00-3:30	BREAK - MUSIC, ICE CREAM, FAVORS				4, 10	$20 for 12 FACs
	3:30-5:00	SHOW AND TELL	GROUPS 4,5,6			4,10	funds for refreshments for students
	CHECK OUT						

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APPENDIX J-4

Program Outline for the Preparation of Approximately 200 P.T.A. Members and Officers for the P.T.A. Council for Desegregation of Schools.

P.T.A. GROUP : June 29, 30 and July 1, 1970 8:30 - 12:00 RAMSEY HIGH SCHOOL APPENDIX

p. 1

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 200 parents composed of two members each school P.T.A. and officers of the P.T.A. Councill

DATE	TIME	CONTENT	STRUCTURE	BY WHOM	METHOD	OBJECTIVES TO BE MET	FUNDS REQUIRED
6-29	8:30-9:00	REGISTRATION AND MUSIC		HIGH SCHOOL GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION	1, 10	no stipend for parents
	9:00-9:25	ORIENTATION	ENTIRE GROUP Random seating	DR. CHRISTIAN	LECTURE	1,7,10	$20 for 16 FACs no funds for spe
	9:25-9:55	THE PLAN	SAME AS ABOVE	DR. SPARKS	LECTURE, VISUALS	9, 10	no funds for spe
	9:55-10:10	INTRODUCTION OF W.S. STAFF	SAME AS ABOVE				
	10:10-10:30	BREAK					
	10:30-11:45	BEST OF "SHOW & TELL"	ENTIRE GROUP seated according to preplanned interracial pattern	BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS	STUDENTS WORK	1,3,4,10	no funds request
	11:45-12:00	WHERE HAVE WE BEEN TODAY? WHERE ARE WE GOING TOMORROW?	ENTIRE GROUP	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE		1, 10	
	CHECK OUT						
6-30	8:30-8:45	CHECK IN					no stipend for par
	8:45-9:45	IT DID NOT HAPPEN TO ME	ENTIRE GROUP Preplanned seating	PANEL OF TEACHERS WHO HAVE MADE TRANSITION SUCCESSFULLY	PANEL	1,3,10	$20 for 16 FACs
	9:45-10:45	LEARNING TO WORK TOGETHER. (Principles of group dynamics)	ENTIRE GROUP Preplanned seating	NTL REP.	PLANNED PRESENTATION, LECTURE	1,2,10	consultant's fee
	10:45-11:00	BREAK AND MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACE					

[illegible]
p. 2

6-30	11:00-11:55	BARRIERS WHICH PREVENT OUR WORKING TOGETHER EFFECTIVELY AND STRATEGIES FOR CROSSING THEM	8 GROUPS OF 25 MEMBERS	DISCUSSION SPEARHEADED BY FACs	GROUP DISCUSSION	2,3,10	
	11:55-12:00	ALOHA					
7-1	8:30-8:45	CHECK IN					
	8:45-9:30	REPORTING ON BARRIERS AND STRATEGIES	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	TALK, SLIDES, ROLE PLAYING	1,2,3,10	$20 for 16 FACs no stipend for parents
	9:30-9:45	BREAK AND MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACE					
	9:45-11:00	HOW CAN WE PREPARE OUR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES TO ACCEPT CHANGE	8 GROUPS OF 25 MEMBERS	DISCUSSION LED BY INTERRACIAL TEAM FACs	GROUP DISCUSSION	1,2,4,10	
	11:00-11:40	REPORTING Prepare written report	REPRESENTATIVE FROM EACH GROUP (5 minutes)			3,4,10	
	11:40-12:00	WHAT HAVE WE ACCOMPLISHED?	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	DR. SPARKS DR. CHRISTIAN	PANEL	7, 10	no funds reques
		WRAP UP					

APPENDIX J-5

Program Outline for the Preparation
of All School Personnel in 1970-71
for Desegregation of Schools.

				FUNDS NEEDED
PROFESSIONAL WORKSHOP	AUGUST 24,1970	8 A.M. - 1 P.M.	HAYES HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM	$15 stipend for 540 SLGs & no stipend for principals
	PARTICIPANTS:	Approx. 500 team members from 89 schools		
	AUGUST 25,1970	8 A.M. - 1 P.M.	MEETINGS IN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS	$15 for apprx. 4000 teachers no stipend for principals
	PARTICIPANTS:	Total Staff - Professional, Clerical, Lunchroom, Janitorial		
	AUGUST 26,1970	8 A.M. - 1 P.M.	MEETINGS IN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS	$15 for apprx. 4000 teachers no stipend for principals
	PARTICIPANTS:	Total Staff - Professional, Clerical, Lunchroom, Janitorial		
	AUGUST 27,1970	9 A.M. - 12 NOON 1 P.M. - 3 P.M.	MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM MEETINGS IN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS	No funds requested Total staff on payroll
	PARTICIPANTS:	Teachers and principal		
	AUGUST 28,1970	8 A.M. - 3 P.M.	MEETINGS IN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS	No funds requested Total staff on payroll
	PARTICIPANTS:	Teachers and principal		

PROGRAM: Written brochure containing content and organization plus names of participants will be provided

DATE	TIME	CONTENT	STRUCTURE	BY WHOM	METHOD	OBJECTIVES TO BE MET	FUNDS REQUIRED
8-24	8:00-8:30	REGISTRATION		HIGH SCHOOL MUSIC GROUP	LIVE PRESENTATION		
	8:30-10:00	PROGRESS REPORT	ENTIRE GROUP seated as they wish	SUPT., DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	TALK, TAPES, FILM, VISUALS	1,7,9,10	
	10:00-10:15	TASK SETTING FOR REMAINDER OF WEEK	SAME AS ABOVE	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	TALK	1,4,10	
	10:15-10:45	BREAK AND MOVE TO GROUP MEETING PLACES					
	10:45-12:30	MAKING PLANS FOR WORKING WITH INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL FACULTIES	89 GROUPS, MEETING 4 GROUPS TO A ROOM	TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS	GROUP INTERACTION	1,2,3,4,10	
	12:40-1:00	ATTITUDE THERAPY	ENTIRE GROUP	COMMUNITY RESOURCE PERSON	CREATIVE PRESENTATION	1,10	

CHECK OUT

8-25	8:00-8:30	REGISTRATION COFFEE	ENTIRE SCHOOL STAFF	SLG	GROUP INTERACTION	1,3,10
	8:30-9:00	WHY OF WORKSHOP	ENTIRE SCHOOL STAFF	DR. CHRISTIAN DR. SPARKS	ITV	7,9,10
	9:00-10:00	GETTING ACQUAINTED	SAME AS ABOVE	SLG	GROUP INTERACTION	1,3,10
	10:00-1:00	FOLLOW FORMAT DEVELOPED BY FACILITATING TEAM DURING PREPLANNING SESSION AUGUST 24				
	CHECK OUT					
8-26	8:00-8:30	CHECK IN AND COFFEE	ENTIRE SCHOOL STAFF	SLG	GROUP INTERACTION	1,3,10
	8:30-9:30	TEACHING TECHNIQUES WHICH HAVE WORKED WELL IN INTERRACIAL SETTING	ENTIRE STAFF	DIRECTOR AND ASSOCIATE	ITV	5,8,10
	9:30-1:00	FOLLOW FORMAT DEVELOPED BY FACILITATING TEAM DURING PREPLANNING SESSION OR DURING WORKSHOP AUGUST 25				
	CHECK OUT					
8-27	9:00-12:00	INSTITUTE	ENTIRE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL STAFF	DR. CHRISTIAN	TALK	1,7,9,10
	1:00-3:00	GETTING READY FOR THE OPENING OF SCHOOL	ENTIRE SCHOOL STAFF	PRINCIPAL		
	CHECK OUT					
8-28	8:00-8:30	CHECK IN AND COFFEE	ENTIRE SCHOOL STAFF	SLG	GROUP INTERACTION	1,3,10
	8:30-3:00	GETTING READY FOR THE OPENING OF SCHOOL	ENTIRE SCHOOL STAFF	TOTAL STAFF ACTIVITIES STIMULATED BY SLG		1,3,10

DESEGREGATION IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

A CASE STUDY

Data Collected By
Desegregation Study Team:

Oscar Cotton, Ed. D
Eileen Goldstein
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Project Director

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Principal Investigator

Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York

PREFACE

In May, 1974 a research team of four persons, representing Teachers College, Columbia University, visited Durham, North Carolina to study and document the processes the Durham City Schools engaged in during its transition from a segregated to a desegregated district. Durham was one of five school districts included in the comparative study of desegregated settings, funded by the National Institute of Education, which had as its goal the documentation of key processes that are associated with the implementation of successful desegregation plans.

The team spent four days in the Durham City community meeting with central administrative office personnel, principals, teachers, students and parents. Attempts were made to gather data, through formal and informal interviews, of their knowledge of, involvement in and perceptions of the city's desegregation process and plan. The team also made formal and informal observations in eight of the district's twenty-six schools. A total of twelve instruments were used to insure consistency in the collection of data across the district's schools.

While it is important to evaluate long-range effects of a desegregation plan and a desirable goal of a research effort, the team was constrained in terms of time and manpower as well as the study design to address holistically the social, psychological and economic effects desegregation has had on the city. This study, then, is a description of the process of Durham's desegregation plan.

The writer extends a word of thanks and appreciation to all persons who shared their time, knowledge and feelings with the team. Special thanks are due to Dr. Frank B. Weaver, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction who, along with Superintendent Lew W. Hannen, made the onsite visits possible.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Description of Town and Demographic Data[1]

Durham, a city of 95,438 persons according to 1970 Census data, is located in the Piedmont region of North Carolina. It is a city with a "unique blend of town and gown, factory whistle and symphonic sounds, city streets and country lanes. A city where a child can grow up to be an All-American athlete, a famous medical specialist, a university president, a great scientist, or head of one of America's largest companies--without ever leaving the area."

Listed as Durham's greatest asset is its proximity to outstanding educational facilities. Duke University and predominantly black North Carolina Central University are located within the city limits. Ten miles south in Chapel Hill is found the University of North Carolina. Travelling east of Durham to Raleigh one finds North Carolina State University. These institutions and dozens more tremendously influence the lives and life styles of citizenry in the area. "A typical week may find David Brinkley lecturing or Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra in town for a concert, while the Duke Blue Devils play host to Southern Cal," or North Carolina Central Eagles hosts the Pan African Track Meet.

The Durham area is heralded by many as being the medical capital of the South with two university teaching hospitals--Duke Hospital and the University of North Carolina Hospital being located there. Additionally there is a veteran hospital and several other rehabilitation institutions as well as locally run hospitals in the area.

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[1] Information in this section was taken from Durham, A Rare Combination of Qualities and Durham, North Carolina Economic Summary both produced by the Greater Durham Chamber of Commerce, and "Durham, N.C., A Slow Dance With Progress," by Lawrence Wright, Race Relations Reporter 4(March, 1973).

Durham has a host of the nation's largest industries, for example, Liggett and Myers, Inc., Sperry Rand Corporation, General Electric Company, and black owned and operated North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. The city also forms one point of the triangle which denotes closeness of The Research Triangle, a 5,200 acre campus devoted to research-oriented industries.

One of the characteristics that is said to set Durham apart from many cities of comparable or even greater size is the economic stability, the political powers and the status of family life of a portion of the 38.8 percent of black citizens who make up the city's population. Historically, Durham has been considered a progressive city, entrepreneurally, for its black residents. During the early part of the century when W.E.B. DuBois visited the city he marvelled that, "Today . . . in Durham. . . a black man may get up in the morning from a mattress made by black men, in a house which a black man built out of lumber which black men cut and planed; he may put on a suit which he bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill; he may cook victuals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned; he may earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, and buried from a colored church; and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school. . . ." While some of the industry mentioned by Dr. DuBois faded into oblivion, two well-known and influential black industries prospered, North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company and Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

Another characteristic of Durham, as described by the mayor, Jim Hawkins, leads to the realization that Durham did not escape the turmoil and social upheaval that rocked much of the nation in the 60's. According to the mayor, "We've had a social revolution in this town. From 1960-1968 we experienced more turmoil than any other city. We had to face the problems of a tremendous number of low-income people. In 1968, . . . a black community organizer and I had violent confrontations--now I sit down every day with him. . . . Here we have people of all persuasions forming unbelievable alliances."

One of the unbelievable alliances the mayor referred to occurred in 1971 during the school charrette--a workshop devoted to problems in the schools. The co-chairmen of that Charrette were C.P. Ellis, president of the Durham chapter of the United Klans of America and Ann Atwater, a militant black member of United Organizations for Community Improvement. The Charrette was widely attended and a cathartic experience for the community. It produced a list of recommendations for improving the schools, and momentarily projected its co-chairmen into national prominence on the David Frost Show and tours of several major cities. . .

The average resident in Durham has completed nearly twelve years of school and has an earning of approximately $8,300 per year. The city's unemployment rate has been stabilized below 3 percent. In spite of such statistics and previously stated rare qualities, nearly 15 percent of all income producing families earn incomes below the poverty level and nearly 29 percent still receive public assistance income.

Description of School District Prior to Present Desegregation

According to a 1971 research article entitled "A Change In Times," by Brenda Clegg: "With the Supreme Court ruling to integrate schools. . . Durham Negroes, like many other southern Negroes began to request action for local school integration. In 1958, the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations tried to arrange meetings between the City School Board and Negroes in the community, but the school board refused to meet. Some progress was made on August 28, 1959 at a special meeting of the City Board of Education. It was agreed that white junior and senior high schools would be integrated. . . ." Perhaps the significance of Ms. Clegg's statement lies in the reminder that there was agitation in Durham's black community shortly after Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954 directed toward desegregation fo the city's schools. As in other places where similar agitation occurred, solutions arrived at were short-lived and designed primarily to placate.

Much of the historical data describing activities that occurred in conjunction with the Durham desegregation process were not at the disposal of the study team. One piece of data that was available was ethnic enrollment by schools for each of the Durham City Schools for the 1962-63 school year. As can be seen in Table 1, whatever desegregation that might have occurred prior to the 1962-63 school year ~~had~~ run its course. During this school year there were 15,071 students in the twenty-five schools operated by the Durham City Schools. Of this total number, 7,822 (52%) were white and 7,249 (48%) were black. There were ten all-black schools and fifteen all-white schools.

On October 15, 1965, a "Plan For Desegregation of The Durham City Schools" was presented to the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina. The plan was developed in response to a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund against the Board of Education. In effect, it abolished all attendance zones used during and prior to 1965-66 which had been adopted for elementary and junior high schools in the district and the feeder system of assignments to high schools.

Table 1

1962-63 Ethnic Data by Schools

Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(Membership as of 10-1-62)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Blac
			No.	%	No.
Durham High	10-12	1,692	1,692	100%	0
Brogden Junior	7-9	590	590	100%	0
Carr Junior	7-9	868	868	100%	0
Holton Junior	7-9	611	611	100%	0
Club Boulevard Elementary	1-6	582	582	100%	0
Edgemont Elementary	1-6	371	371	100%	0
Fuller Elementary	1-6	136	136	100%	0
Holloway St. Elementary	1-6	386	386	100%	0
Lakewood Elementary	1-6	348	348	100%	0
Morehead Elementary	1-6	337	337	100%	0
North Durham Elementary	1-6	304	304	100%	0
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	554	554	100%	0
Y. E. Smith Elementary	1-6	526	526	100%	0
Southside Elementary	1-6	140	140	100%	0
George Watts Elementary	1-6	377	377	100%	0
Hillside High	10-12	1,301	0	0	1,301
Whitted Junior	7-9	1,438	0	0	1,438
Burton Elementary	1-6	716	0	0	716
Crest St. Elementary	1-6	208	0	0	208
East End Elementary	1-6	725	0	0	725
Fayetteville Elementary	1-6	547	0	0	547
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	566	0	0	566
Pearson Elementary	1-6	945	0	0	945
Spaulding Elementary	1-6	564	0	0	564
Walltown Elementary	1-6	239	0	0	239
TOTALS		15,071	7,822	(52%)	7,249

"The Durham City Board of Education established one general school district within the Durham City Administrative School Unit and opened enrollment to all students at all schools within the district without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."

In abolishing all attendance zones and the feeder system the district concurrently adopted a policy of complete greedom of choice to be "offered annually to all pupils in all grades of all schools without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." The responsibility for school selection became that of the parent, in accordance with certain practices and procedures. School personnel were forbidden to advise, recommend or otherwise influence the parents' choices.

The plan allowed for assignments of students to be made in accordance with the highest school specified on an application black provided by the district until the maximum capacity per classroom was reached at each school (See Exhibit "A," "Application for Assignment"). If neither of three choices made by parents could be granted, the parents of the child would be notified and required to make another choice from among other district schools where space is available. Written notice of final assignments were mailed to parents within a given number of days preceeding the school year or a given number of days following receipt of the application, whichever occurred last. Procedures differed somewhat depending on the classification of students--for an example, pupils entering first grade, pupils promoted to junior high or senior high school, pupils not promoted from highest grade in elementary and junior high schools, and so forth. However, the basics of the plan for each category were the same.

The plan called for the establishment of "capacity" of each school and classroom in accordance with the maximum capacity per classroom permitted under the minimum standards for accreditation established by the N.C. Department of Public Instruction and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Applications for Assignment and Re-Assignment (See Exhibit "B") were honored on a first come, first served basis, "although exceptions may be made in some instances in a non-discriminatory manner."

EXHIBIT "A"

DURHAM CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

APPLICATION FOR ASSIGNMENT FOR 1966-67 SCHOOL YEAR

I, ____,
(Parent, Guardian or Person Standing in Place of Parent)

______________________________, desire that my child, ________________,
(Address) (Name of Pupil)

who attended ____________________ School during the 1965-66 school year and was enrolled in the _______ grade, be assigned to one of the following schools for the 1966-67 school year, in the order listed below:

First Choice: ______________________________ School

Second Choice: ______________________________ School

Third Choice: ______________________________ School

Signed: ______________________________
(Signature of Parent or Guardian)

Witness: ____________________________

Date: ______________________________

NOTE:

This application must be returned on or before

______________________________________ to:

Pupil's Homeroom Teacher (if during school)
or
Superintendent of Durham City Schools
Fuller School Building
Corner of Chapel Hill and Cleveland Streets
Durham, North Carolina

(For information purposes, a list of all schools and grades taught in the Durham City Schools is attached.)

FOR USE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS ONLY

Returned to and received by me this _______
day of ___________________________, 19____

____

EXHIBIT "B"

DURHAM CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

APPLICATION FOR RE-ASSIGNMENT FOR 1966-67 SCHOOL YEAR

I, ____,
(Parent, Guardian or Person Standing in Place of Parent)

________________________________, desire that my child, ______________________,
(Address) (Name of Pupil)

who has been assigned to the ________ grade at ____________________ School,

be transferred to one of the following schools for the 1966-67 school year, in the order listed below:

First Choice: ______________________________ School

Second Choice: ______________________________ School

Third Choice: ______________________________ School

Signed: ______________________________
(Signature of Parent or Guardian)

Witness: ______________________________

Date: ______________________________

NOTE:

This application must be returned on or before

______________________________, 19 ____, to:

Superintendent of Durham City Schools
Fuller School Building
Corner of Chapel Hill and Cleveland Streets
Durham, North Carolina

(For information purposes, a list of all schools and grades taught in the Durham City Schools is attached.)

FOR USE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS ONLY

Returned to and received by me

this ______ day of ______, 19____

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT DESEGREGATION PLAN

Circumstances Leading to Plan

In an article carried in the June 29, 1970 Durham Herald and Sun, entitled "4 Durham Schools To Be Paired in Revised Desegregation Plan," the editor stated:

> Pairing of four city elementary schools and revised boundaries for the city's junior and senior high schools were revealed in the new desegregation plan filed by the City Board of Education with U.S. Middle District Judge Edwin M. Stanley. . . . City School Board members were instructed by Judge Stanley. . .to provide a new plan for further integration of city schools without a continuation of the seven-year-old 'freedom of choice' plan.

The judge's order was in response to a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund reopening legal proceedings against the school board. The suit filed asked that each school in the district be forced to reflect the system-wide ratio of blacks to whites. The school board did file a plan, but was not required by the court to set up such a ratio at each school. The board proceeded to draw up plans that would "further desegregation" with the understanding that some schools would remained predominantly black and others would remain predominantly white.

Participants in Plan Design

Interviews with principals and other school personnel in the Durham City Schools revealed that the Durham Desegregation Design was the creation of the school administration as representatives of the City Board of Education and the court which held jurisdiction over the case. The writer was given access to the design entitled, "Plan For Further Desegregation of The Durham City Schools," which was submitted to the court on June 26, 1970 and was to commence with the 1970-71 school year. The fourteen points proposed in the plan are summarized below:

1. The Durham City Board of Education will operate twenty-four (24) schools in the district, consisting of two (2) high schools, six (6) junior high schools, and sixteen (16) elementary schools. Table 2 lists the names, grades and racial compositions of each of the schools.

2. Geographical attendance zones will be established for each high school, junior high and elementary school..

3. Each student in the district's grades 10-12 will be assigned to the high school located within and serving the geographical attendance area in which the student legally resides. For the 1970-71 school year only resident and non-resident seniors were permitted to attend schools in which they were enrolled the previous year subject to availability of space.

4. Each student in grades 7-9 will be assigned to the junior high school located within the geographical attendance area in which the student legally resides.

5. Each student in the district in grades 1-6 will be assigned to the elementary school located within the geographical attendance area in which the student legally resides.

6. Based on actual enrollments and residential patterns of pupils for 1969-70, geographical areas established for 1970-71 will result in a racial mixture of students in each of the district's schools.

7. Students whose race constitutes a majority in a given school may, through their parents or guardians, opt for reassignment to a school in which their race is in the majority.

8. Mentally retarded and exceptionally talented pupils may be assigned to facilities specifically provided for such pupils, in a non-discriminatory manner and without regard to race.

9. The Superintendent with the consent of the Board reserves the right to change a student's assignment to a school outside his/her geographical attendance area in proven hardship cases.

10. The Board may re-define geographical attendance areas and grades taught per school in order to accommodate the allocation of pupil concentration to available facilities on a reasonable geographical basis, without affecting the unitary character of the schools in the system.

Proposed Ethnic Distribution of Students
By Schools - Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(School Year 1970-71)

School	Grade/Level	Membership May 1, 1970	Proposed Plan For 1970-71 TOTAL	Black No.	Black %	White No.
Durham High	10-12	1,697	1,604	809	50%	795
Hillside High	10-12	1,246	1,279	744	58%	535
Brogden Junior	7-9	665	635	133	21%	502
Carr Junior	7-9	446	425	207	49%	218
Holton Junior	7-9	500	519	274	53%	245
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	460	475	315	66%	160
Shepard Junior	7-9	573	528	418	79%	110
Whitted Junior	7-9	1,015	785	640	82%	145
Burton Elementary	1-6	189	523	360	69%	163
Club Boulevard Elementary*	4-6	538	466	27	6%	439
Crest St. Elementary		(To be discontinued)				
East End Elementary*	1-3	542	483	380	79%	103
Edgemont Elementary		(To be discontinued--built in 1901)				
Fayetteville Elementary**	3-6	581	554	414	75%	140
R. N. Harris Elementary***	1-2	384	273	155	57%	118
Holloway Elementary	1-6	400	504	253	50%	251
Lakewood Elementary**	1-2	389	276	206	75%	70
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	339	365	235	64%	130
Morehead Elementary	1-6	292	290	195	67%	95
North Durham Elementary	1-6	215	228	135	59%	93
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	746	769	696	91%	73
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	505	510	148	29%	362
Y. E. Smith Elementary***	3-6	569	547	310	57%	237
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	455	493	424	86%	69
Walltown Elementary	1-6	155	273	125	46%	148
George Watts Elementary	1-6	293	277	101	36%	176
TOTALS			13,081	7,704	59%	5,377

*Two schools paired with each other
**Two schools paired with each other
***Two schools paired with each other

11. No student legally residing in another administrative unit will be assigned, either with or without payment of tuition, to a Durham City School; neither will the reverse be permitted. Exceptions for 1970-71 for each case were seniors.

12. Faculties will be assigned so that the ratio of black and white faculty in each school will reflect the same ratio throughout the school system. . . "Teachers and other professional personnel shall not be dismissed, demoted, retained or passed over for reemployment or promotion on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. . . ."

13. All courses, facilities, programs and extra curricular activities offered at any school in the district will be equally available to all pupils attending a given school.

14. "No later than October 15, 1970, the attorneys for the Board of Education will submit a report to the Court with a copy to counsel for plaintiffs, setting forth the racial composition of students and faculty at each school in the administrative school unit."

Though the plan as summarized above remains in effect today, it has not been uncontested legally or even by the Board of Education itself. Fluctuation in enrollment and the loss of students have rendered Durham's plan, insofar as student population is concerned, unstable. A comparison of the total column in Tables 2 and 3 serves as an indication why there was a variety of concern about the district's plan. Enrollment in the district decreased by slightly less than 1,000, while the pupil population shifted 3 percent toward a larger black proportion.

During the 1971-1972 school year, the Board of Education spent the better part of that year working on a plan that would realign the racial makeup of the schools before the courts once more interceded. The plan, called "tentative," involved tripling the number of students bussed, the closing of a predominantly black elementary school, the converting of one junior high to a vocational center, the pairing of several elementary schools and the sending of one-sixth of all junior high students to distant schools. The goal of the plan was to distribute the minority white population more evenly in the schools. Though the Board abandoned an idea of airing the proposed plan at a public hearing, it did suggest that citizens send in written suggestions about changes proposed. The Board sought answers to such questions as:

1. How many residents would leave the school system and put their children in private schools because of the plan?

Table 3

1971-72 Enrollment Data by Schools
Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(Totals Inclusive of Only Black and White Students)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Black
			No.	%	No.
Durham High	10-12	1,522	837	55%	685
Hillside High	10-12	1,180	354	30%	826
Brogden Junior	7-9	575	454	79%	121
Carr Junior	7-9	395	213	54%	182
Holton Junior	7-9	585	316	54%	269
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	453	140	31%	313
Shepard Junior	7-9	490	29	6%	461
Whitted Junior	7-9	678	47	7%	631
Burton Elementary	1-6	582	91	16%	491
Club Boulevard Elementary	4-6	427	248	58%	179
East End Elementary	1-3	432	173	42%	239
Fayetteville Elementary	3-6	579	127	22%	452
R. N. Harris Elementary	1-2	257	80	31%	177
Holloway Elementary	1-6	517	274	53%	243
Lakewood Elementary	1-2	289	113	39%	176
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	214	51	24%	163
Morehead Elementary	1-6	318	108	34%	210
North Durham Elementary	1-6	185	67	36%	118
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	668	33	5%	635
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	426	319	75%	107
Y. E. Smith Elementary	3-6	525	194	37%	331
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	460	14	3%	446
Walltown Elementary	1-6	240	127	53%	113
George Watts Elementary	1-6	324	204	63%	120
TOTALS		12,301	4,613	38%	7,688

Table 4

1972-73 Enrollment Data by Schools
Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(Totals Inclusive of Only Black and White Students)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White No.	White %	Black No.	Black %
Durham High	10-12	1,401	687	49%	717	51%
Hillside High	10-12	1,298	383	30%	915	70%
Brogden Junior	7-9	533	423	79%	110	21%
Carr Junior	7-9	338	153	45%	185	55%
Holton Junior	7-9	548	275	50%	273	50%
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	438	106	24%	332	76%
Shephard Junior	7-9	449	19	4%	430	96%
Whitted Junior	7-9	645	48	7%	597	93%
Burton Elementary	1-6	553	59	11%	494	89%
Club Boulevard Elementary	4-6	357	181	51%	176	49%
East End Elementary	1-3	387	130	34%	257	66%
Fayetteville Elementary	3-6	589	89	15%	500	85%
R. N. Harris Elementary	1-2	272	52	30%	220	70%
Holloway Elementary	1-6	484	193	40%	211	60%
Lakewood Elementary	1-2	241	50	21%	191	79%
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	171	28	16%	143	84%
Morehead Elementary	1-6	231	70	30%	161	70%
North Durham Elementary	1-6	193	66	34%	127	66%
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	562	23	4%	539	96%
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	339	245	72%	94	28%
Y. E. Smith Elementary	1-6	503	144	29%	359	71%
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	458	14	3%	444	97%
Walltown Elementary	1-6	203	98	48%	105	52%
George Watts Elementary	1-6	220	122	55%	98	45%
Cooperative		74	8	11%	66	89%
TOTALS		11,421	3,666	32%	7,744	68%

2. How many would submit to bussing?

3. How many would abide by the plan but form car pools to avoid bussing?

Approximately 500 responses were received, the majority of which were negative. Sharp criticism met by the Board and its introduction of the plan forced it to retreat and to continue to operate under the plan ordered and approved in 1970.

Table 4 shows enrollment figures for the 1972-73 school year. Again the Total column for all students reveals a reduction in total enrollment from the past year by slightly less than 1,000. There was a concurrent shift in population of 6 percent toward a larger black proportion. This situation led to another motion being filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund asking the court to direct the city school board to prepare a plan to further desegregation. The suit also asked that an area called "city out"--an area located within the city limits but now under the jurisdiction of the county school system--be incorporated into the city system.

In order to address the "city out" part of the motion, the Legal Defense attorneys eventually widened the suit to include other agencies of the State of North Carolina which have some power, authority or interest under state law concerning the boundaries of the school district--namely, the Durham County Board of Education, Durham County Commissioner, Durham City Council and the North Carolina Board of Education. The writer was not shown any data that led him to believe nor feel it necessary to report any movement on the part of the district relating to the portion of the suit which called for a plan for further desegregation. It is assumed that the 1970 court order and resulting plan prevails. However, the writer can report that during the onsite visit to the district, legal proceedings were just beginning in the court on the "city out" issue.

CHAPTER III

PROCESS LEADING TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION

In an attempt to determine what the key processes were that led to implementation, the study team sought written documents from the central administrative offices, newspaper clippings from the local news, and it conducted interviews with school personnel at all levels. The team found little written information about processes that led to preparation of the community, as well as students, teachers and other school personnel for accepting desegregation. One central administrator indicated that the district's major concern was effectively implementing its desegregation program and by so doing it did not have the time to write down the process.

Articulation of Plan

The local press was used to a great degree to keep the public informed about the status of the motion filed against the Board of Education. It was instrumental in keeping the public abreast of the salient features of the plan, for example, proposed black/white ratios in each school, the amount of bussing to be used in the plan, the changing character of a school's program, and so forth. When the first "permanent plan" for desegregation was adopted, the plan in its entirety was printed in the paper. Though neither the writer nor the study team members saw copies, sour sources in the school district indicated that a similar action was employed when the current plan was adopted. In addition to providing frequent information on the components of the plan, the local paper, through its editorial column, also provided a forum for public expression about it.

In the absence of written information other than newspaper clippings, about key processes leading toward implementation, the study team asked various persons in interviews to recall as much as possible about the way the plan was articulated to them as well as the way they were prepared for the change.

Teacher and Staff Involvement and Preparation

Twenty-four teachers, a sample drawn from each school visited, were asked a series of questions concerning their knowledge about the paln, their involvement in it, and their perceptions of the processes that led to its implementation. The first question asked was "Are you familiar with the Integration Plan?" All of the teachers queried, except two, had been in the Durham City Schools for at least four years; they were in the district during the first year of the current plan. Twenty, or approximately 81 percent, indicated "yes" to the question. Two, or 9 percent, stated that they were "vaguely" familiar with the plan and two, or 9 percent, suggested that they were not familiar with it.

Teachers were then asked, "How did you become familiar with the integration plan? What was the extent of articulation by school officials?" There was a range of answers to these questions. Answers have been categorized below for the sake of reporting frequencies of responses:

1. There was no articulation from school officials - 6
2. Announcements in news media - 8
3. Board of Education meetings, public meetings - 6
4. Teachers not in the district at the time - 2
5. Teacher lived through rhetoric as a student, then eventually joined the ranks as a teacher - 1

Question three attempted to determine how district officials prepared faculty and staff for the impending change. It asked, "How did the school officials prepare the faculty and staff for integration as outlined in the plan?" Two individuals did not respond to the question, eight indicated that nothing was done, and fourteen stated that the district provided human relations workshops, though not for all teachers, which focused on desegregation, its values, its problems. The workshops were termed excellent by some, a waste of time by some and neither good nor bad by others.

"How was the faculty and staff involved in planning for integration as reflected in the plan?" Responses to this question were:

1. Teachers were not involved - 14
2. Principal minimally involved in teacher transfers and drawing of boundary lines - 1

3.	Teachers were consulted through the Durham Classroom Teachers Association	- 1
4.	"Strategic" teachers from various schools were called on to help plan workshops	- 1
5.	Through "Women In Action"	- 1
6.	Don't know	- 1
7.	No answer	- 5

Five guidance counselors in the school district were also asked to share their opinions and knowledge about the plan. Two of the counselors were from junior high schools and three were from the senior high schools. Four of the five responded that they were familiar with the plan. The remaining counselor had a vague notion about it. As for how the plan was articulated by school officials, three counselors indicated that they learned of the plan through the news media; the other two suggested that they learned through faculty meetings.

Most counselors cited "workshops" as the way the district officials prepared faculty and staff for integration. They, like the teachers who were interviewed, were not involved in planning for integration.

Teacher and Staff Assignment

In its "Plan For Further Desegregation of The Durham City Schools," as submitted to the U.S. District Court Middle District of N.C., the Durham City Board of Education spelled out fourteen components to which it was ascribing. The twelfth component dealt with the matter of assigning faculties. The context of this component read:

"12. Faculties in the Durham City Administrative School Unit shall be assigned to the respective schools in the school system so that the ration shall be approximately the same as the ration throughout the school system.

a. In order to effect the employment and assignment of teachers and other professional personnel in the Durham City School System, the Durham City Board of Education will continue to open vacant teacher positions in the future to all applicants, and each vacancy shall be filed by the best qualified applicant regardless of race. Teachers and other professional personnel will be employed and assigned to the various schools. . . on the basis of ability and qualifications for the particular position to be filled. Race, color, or national origin shall not be a factor in the hiring, promotion, or dismissal of teachers, principals, and other professional staff members. . . .

b. The Board of Education. . .will continue to review the existing policies policies. . .and, to the extent necessary, augment or amend the same in order to maintain applicable standards or criteria for determining the suitability of applicants for employment and transfer, to be applied in a racially non-discriminatory manner. These criteria will include the following:

(1) Certification; (2) National Teachers' Examination Grades; (3) Earned Professional Degrees; (4) Experience; (5) Scholastic Record; (6) Recommendations and Reputation; (7) Demonstrated Teaching Ability; (8) Intelligence; and (9) Personality and Ability to Communicate with others.

c. Teachers and other professional personnel shall not be dismissed, demoted, retained or passed over for reemployment or promotion on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. In any instance where one or more teachers or other professional staff personnel are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no staff vacancy in the system will be filled through recruitment from outside the system unless no such displaced staff member is qualified to fill the vacancy. In the event there is a reduction in a primary or grammar grade level, or junior or senior high school area, the qualifications of all teachers in such level or area in which the teachers affected are qualified will be evaluated, without consideration of race, in order to determine which teachers are not to be re-employed.

d. In the recruitment and employment of new teachers and other professional personnel, all applicants or other prospective employees shall be informed that the Board operates a racially desegregated school system and that teachers are subject to assignment in the best interests of the school system without consideration of their race or color, or the race or color of the students attending the particular school. . . ."

Table 5 summarizes the ethnic compostion of staff in the Durham City Schools one year prior to desegregation and compares it with current staffing in order to

TABLE 5

A Comparison of Full-Time Staff One Year Prior To Desegregation And Currently

Titles	Total	Currently White		Currently Non-White		One Year Prior to Desegregation				
						Total	White		Non-White	
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
perintendent	1	1	100%			1	1	100%		
ociate Superintendent	1	1	100%			1	1	100%		
istant Superintendent	2	1	50%	1	50%	2	2	100%		
pervisors	19	10	53%	9	47%	18	13	72%	5	28%
her Central Office Staff (Excluding Clerical Staff)	28	14	50%	14	50%	21	2	57%	9	43%
erical Staff	22	15	75%	7	25%	19	17	90%	2	10%
incipals	25	12	48%	13	52%	25	13	52%	12	48%
ce Principals	16	7	44%	9	56%	16	9	56%	7	44%
unselors	13	7	54%	6	48%	12	5	42%	7	58%
brarians	26	11	42%	15	58%	27	15	56%	12	44%
ssroom Teachers	537	276	53%	261	47%	571	303	53%	268	47%
TOTAL	690	355	51%	335	49%	713	391	55%	322	45%

determine what effects desegration has had on numbers and percentages. As for classroom teachers, there was a total of 571 in the district in 1969-70, one year prior to desegregation. Three hundred and three (53%) of these teachers were white and 268 (47%) were black. Currently, there are 537 teachers--276 (53%) are white and 261 (47%) are black. One notes that in spite of the fact that the student ratio has become 70 percent black/30percent white, the teaching staff's ratio has remained the same.

Other changes reflected in Table 5 are: (1) in 1969-70 the district had two assistant superintendents, both of whom were white--currently there is one black assistant syperintendent and one white; (2) the total number of white supervisors decreased by three while there was a corresponding increase of four black supervisors. There was an increase of black and white central staff, but black personnel showed a larger percentage increase. There was a 15 percent increase of black clerical staff in the district as compared to a 15 percent decrease in white clerical staff. What was a 52 percent white/48 percent black ratio in principalships in 1969-70 reversed itself to become 52 percent black/48 percent white. The same happened with vice-principals with the current ratio being 44 percent white/56 percent black.

Student Preparation and Involvement

Neither the writer nor the study team saw written documentation on how students were involved in or prepared for the changes that were inherent in the desegregating of their schools. However, some of the students interviewed at one high school recalled vaguely some special attempts the school made to introduce them to impending changes.

Community Preparation and Involvement

The study team found very little written information about community preparation for or involvement in the desegregation plan. Fleeting comments were made of efforts made by a community group ("Women In Action") which set up and operated a facility in the downtown area aimed at answering questions of parents, students and public about the location of schools, the changed boundaries, the desegregation plan itself, and any other queries that were raised in the context of school desegregation. The writer is not sure about whether or not this group is affiliated with the League of Women Voters. However, several interviewers mentioned that the latter group was generally supportive of the Board and whenever possible helped to articulate the Board's programs and plans.

During the latter part of the first year of desegregation, a workshop devoted to the problems of the schools, called a school charrette, was held in the community. According to an article written by Lawrence Wright entitled "A Slow Dance With Progress," published in Race Relations Reporter: "The charrette was widely attended and a cathartic experience for the community. It produced a list of recommendations for improving the schools. . . . However, the school board did not implement a single recommendation referred by the charrette."

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES INCIDENT TO DESEGREGATION

It is not unusual for school districts, who voluntarily decide to desegregate their schools, or for those who have been ordered to do so to alter the program offerings in some, if not all of the schools. Similarly, procedures and practices that were heretofore considered routine have undergone change to better fit the newness of the situation. An attempt was made to determine what, if any, programmatic changes and changes in procedures and practices accompanied the desegregation process in Durham.

Issues During the Desegregation Process

What were the major issues in the community and in the school personnel ranks that emerged during the planning and implementation of the district's desegregation plan? This question was asked of several individuals in different ways. For example, one school official was given a list of factors and asked to reflect upon the degree to which they were issues during the desegregation process. His response is listed below:

	Not at All	To a Minimal Degree	Some Degree	Great Degree
Bussing				X
Proposed new schools		X		
Boundary changes			X	
Closing certain schools			X	
Open enrollment		X		
Overcrowding in schools	X			
Grouping procedures		X		
Student conflict			X	
Staff transfer or demotion	X			
Treatment of minority children by school personnel		X		
Upgrading existing schools		X		
Integrating staff		X		
Increasing minority staff		X		

	Not at All	To a Minimal Degree	Some Degree	Great Degree
Increasing minority representation on school board			X	
Other (specify)				

As can be seen from the checklist, bussing was considered the basic issue, in comparison with other factors listed. Boundary changes, closing of certain schools, student conflict and increasing minority representation on the school board were seen as the issues that, next to bussing, had the most impact on the process. In the opinion of this official, the other issues listed on the checklist had little or no impact on the process. He did not list additional issues that might have influenced it.

Without specifying factors or issues, most principals who were interviewed (seven of the eight interviewed) were asked to cite the main issues that emerged during the planning and implementation of their school's plan. The only recurring theme (listed by three principals) was the matter of academic standards coupled with course offering restrictions. They voiced that several parents and patrons were concerned about whether the schools, especially at the secondary level, would experience declining or lowered academic standards and whether course offerings would become more narrowly defined. There were only a few other issues cited, such as, fear of interracial dating, concerns about how teachers would handle different types of students, desires expressed for numerical equality as far as black/white staff was concerned. In neither instance was bussing, the closing of certain schools, boundary changes or even student conflict mentioned.

With the matter of issues, or perceived issues, at least partially exposed, an attempt was made to determine how the district and its personnel addressed them via programs, practices and procedures.

Special Funded Programs

The October 9, 1970 issue of the Durham Herald carried a story, "City Schools Get $229,783 For Desegregation Expenses." The story made reference to ESAP funds sought by the district for "teacher preparation programs, student-to-student programs, curriculum revisions, special community programs and pupil personnel services ... . One of the program's priorities is a system of improved evaluation of individual students. The curriculum changes will involve three basic areas--the incorporation of courses on history and arts of minority groups, the promotion of drug abuse information and a 'multi-level and multi-ethnic approach' to the teaching of heterogeneous groups in classes." The grant received was about 72 percent of the $317,482 requested. Some of the funds requested for student counselors and tutorial teams were not approved.

Curriculum Changes, Organizational Changes and Teaching Techniques

As was alluded to in Chapter II, one of the results of the plan was the pairing of some elementary schools in the district. The district was heretofore organized on a 6-3-3 plan. With the advent of desegregation, six elementary schools underwent a change in organization. As Table 2 shows, two schools previously with a population of students in grades 1-6 became schools with students in grades 1-2. They were paired with schools with grades 3-6. Another former 1-6 grade school became a school for grades 1-3 and it was paired with one that housed grade 4-6 students.

Two of the six schools that were affected by organizational changes were among the eight schools visited during the study in the district. In light of the organizational changes which necessitated some movement of teachers and students, and ESAP funds awarded to help with curriculum revisions and other teacher-student programs, principals and teachers were asked to summarize changes in their school's curriculum that resulted from the desegregation process. No unanimity was found in responses; in fact very few specifics were identified. At the elementary level, one principal stated that his school has focused on individualized instruction and has adopted an individual language arts program, the Individualized Mathematics System (IMS) and the multi-age grouping concept. Another principal also cited an interest in individualization stating that his school uses an individualized mathematics program and more multi-level materials. One principal stated that he and his faculty elected to return to a self-contained structure, from the "Joplin Plan," because of the changes that took place in the student population. Most principals and teachers at the elementary level suggested that no curriculum changes of consequence took place when desegregation went into effect. There was recognition of a need to address different learning needs, styles, and paces, but except for some multi-level materials emerging, they could cite no formal changes.

At the secondary level the interviewers could not get a sense that many major changes had occurred as a result of the desegregation process. The introduction of black studies was the most frequently mentioned changed that took place. One of the high schools indicated that it made some adjustments in its curriculum; as an example it attempted to up-grade vocational education so that it would not be seen as a 3-hour block that is attractive only for a certain segment of students; it added one-hour courses and two-hour courses as well.

In summary, principals and their staffs appeared to have a great deal of autonomy in determining curriculum for their schools, within understandable constraints, such as state requirements and money. This probably accounts in part for the lack of unanimity observed in changes in curriculum across schools. From interviews one surmises that few curriculum changes of major consequence appeared to accompany desegregation in schools district-wide.

Student Assignment and Grouping Practices

On May 25, 1972 one of the local newspapers carried an article entitled, "Critique on Desegregation Draws Differing Opinions." It referred to a report prepared by The Alabama Council on Human Relations, American Friends Service Committee, Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Southern Regional Council and Washington Research Project on the status of school desegregation in forty-three southern cities eighteen years after Brown vs. Board of Education. The article stated, "City schools are ... criticized for tending to resegregate pupils in classrooms by grouping according to ability. Pupils are placed in academic or vocational study 'tracks' but the vocational track is primarily for blacks ... Once in the track, the student is locked in it. Blacks feel vocational training is the school system's only response to its previous failure to provide an adequate education for black children."

"What are the grouping procedures for assigning students to classrooms?" was asked of principals. In each case, except one at the elementary level, some form of heterogeneous grouping was being used, accompanied by skill groupings within classrooms for instruction, where individualized approaches do not exist. In the one exception the principal stated that his school assigns students homogeneously with "high, middle and low groups, with racial balance as equal as you can be." Teachers were in basic agreement with the opinions offered by principals at the elementary level.

At the junior level most of the professional staff interviewed said that students are both assigned and grouped heterogeneously across schools and within classes. The principal at Carr Junior High School asserted that there is "complete mixture of all levels of academic difficulty in all classes" in his school. Table 6 shows the numbers and percentages of black and white pupils assigned to some key classes at Carr. Percentages of black and white pupils assigned to classes are rather similar to the 61 percent black/30 percent white racial make up of the student body.

Table 7 shows a similar racial distribution of students in key classes at Whitted Junior High. As with Carr Junior High, the racial percentages in each class listed in the table is reflective of the 93 percent black/7 percent white racial composition of the student body at Whitted.

Similar data for high schools, as found in Tables 6 and 7, were not available for this report. But, when asked to share their perceptions of grouping and assignment patterns at this level, professional staff interviewed at this level were in disagreement on the extent to which one's ability serves as a basis for his or her assignment or grouping. There was no pattern of disagreement by race. Some staff stated that groupings only occur to the extent that students make choices. Some expressed that students are tracked in faster or slower classes but not according to race. Some stated that there is "hidden ability grouping" or "subtle groupings" which result in black students being disproportionately represented in such classes as exceptionally talented classes in English, and other advanced courses in mathematics and science.

A total of 76 students in grades 10 through 12 at both high schools, who were in study halls during the onsite visit, were asked to respond to three items on a Student Interview Form, which dealt with program selection and assignment. The first question was, "Which of the following best describes the program or course of study you are enrolled in?" Responses and their frequencies were as follows:

	Hillside High (N=27)		Durham High (N=51)	
	Black	White	Black	White
a. Advanced Placement		2		
b. College Preparatory	3	1	11	8
c. Business	3		2	4
d. Vocational	4	1	5	
e. General	11	1	13	8
f. Other	1			

These students were then asked, "How was the program you are now enrolled in selected?" Their responses were:

	Hillside High (N=27)		Durham High (N=51)	
	Black	White	Black	White
a. my own choice	13	5	21	16
b. advised by my counselor	5		4	3
c. suggested by my parents	2		1	1
d. assigned to me	1		4	
e. other	1		1	

To get a measure of these students' satisfaction with their courses each was asked to respond to the question, "To what extent are you satisfied with your program of studies?" Responses were as follows:

TABLE 6

Racial Distribution of Students by Subjects and Level of Difficulty
Carr Junior High School

Class	Grade	Level of Difficulty*	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
Physical Science	9		27	10	37%	17	63%
Physical Science	9		18	6	33%	12	67%
French	9		21	6	29%	15	71%
English	9		21	6	29%	15	71%
English	9		28	14	50%	14	50%
English	9		20	7	35%	13	65%
English	9		26	10	38%	16	62%
Spanish	9		16	6	38%	10	62%
Spanish	9		20	6	30%	14	70%
Algebra	9		29	14	48%	15	52%
Algebra	9		26	10	38%	16	62%
General Math	9		21	5	24%	16	76%
General Math	9		21	8	38%	13	62%

*Note by Principal-Complete mixture of all levels of all academic difficulty in all classes. Randomly assigned.

TABLE 7

Racial Distribution of Students by Subjects and Level of Difficulty J. A. Whitted Junior High School

Class	Grade	Level of Difficulty*	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
English	7	2	189	12	6%	177	94%
English	8	2	168	10	6%	158	94%
English	9	2	171	8	5%	163	95%
Math	7	2	189	12	6%	177	94%
Math	8	2	168	10	6%	158	94%
Math & Algebra	9	3	171	8	5%	163	95%

	Hillside High (N=27)		Durham High (N=51)	
	Black	White	Black	White
a. very satisfied	2	1	2	2
b. satisfied	16	4	18	15
c. not very satisfied	4		8	3
d. not satisfied at all			3	

The consequences notwithstanding, students who answered these items expressed overwhelmingly that they selected their courses of study and that they were satisfied with that selection.

Extra-Curricular Activities

A part of the study of the Durham City Schools' efforts at desegregating its schools was focused on the extent to which there was an expansion of or contraction of extra-curricular activities at the secondary level. It was found that extra-curricular offerings were affected slightly. Few were curtailed or stopped completely as a result of the process, for example, sock hops and modern dance at one junior high school.

An attempt was made to get a reading on the number and kinds of extra-curricular activities that were found in each of the schools visited at the upper levels, by determining ethnic participation and leadership patterns per team per school. Though the attempt met with minimal success (information was received from only two schools), the results are below.

School Athletics

Table 8 shows the participatory patterns of students in school athletics at Carr Junior High School. It shows that the student participation in these four major athletic activities is closely associated with the 61 percent/39 percent black/white student body in the school. Table 9 shows the participatory pattern of students in school athletics at Whitted Junior High School. It reveals that athletic activities at this school were all-black as far as student participation was concerned. While the school's athletics are 100 percent black, the school's student body is likewise 93 percent black. When looked at in the context of the school's racial composition, one gets a different picture as far as athletic participation at Whitted was concerned.

As was alluded to above, these data were not available for other secondary schools visited.

TABLE 8

School Athletic Teams
Carr Junior High School

Team	Total Number of Team Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White Members	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Team		
						Captain	Co-Captain	2nd Co-Captain
Baseball	14	5	36%	9	64%	black	white	black
Basketball	14	6	43%	8	57%	black	black	white
Football	13	6	46%	7	54%	white	black	black
Track	8	4	50%	4	50%	black	white	white

TABLE 9

School Athletic Teams
J. A. Whitted Junior High School

Team	Total Number of Team Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White Members	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Team		
						Captain	Co-Captain	2nd Co-Captain
Football	39	0		39	100%	black	black	
Basketball	18	0		18	100%	black	black	
Baseball	21	0		21	100%	black	black	
Track	23	0		23	100%	black	black	
Tennis	15	0		15	100%	black	black	

TABLE 10

School Clubs, Organizations and Other Extra-Curricular Activities (Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams)
J. A. Whitted Junior High School

Organization, Club or Activity	Total Number of Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White Members	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Organization		
						President	Vice President	Secretary
Student Council	110	15	14%	95	85%	black	black	
Dance Group	42	0		42	100%	black	black	
Cheer leaders	10	0		10	100%	black	black	
Band	48	7	15%	41	85%	black	black	
Chorus	45	2	4%	43	96%	black	black	
Student Newspaper	22	2	9%	20	91%	black	black	

School Clubs, Organizations and Other Extra-Curricular Activities (Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams)

Carr Junior High School provided data on the two major extra-curricular activities. The student council has a total of 22 members, 11 or 50 percent of whom are black and 11 or 50 percent of whom are white. The president is black and the vice president is white. There is also a 50/50 split in the cheer leaders which has a total of six members. The first leader of the squad is white and the second is black.

Table 10 shows similar information of clubs and organizations at Whitted Junior High School. Two of the five activities listed, namely the cheer leaders and the dance group, are all black. The student council and band have white participation which exceeds the percent of white enrollment in the school. The other organizations, chorus and student newspaper, more nearly reflect the black/white student ratio in the school.

Similar data were not available from other secondary schools visited.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS TOWARD PLAN, PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Sweeping changes similar to those which accompany the desegregation process often result in a discrepancy between the perceptions and attitudes of those who administer those changes and those to whom the changes are directed. Perceptions and attitudes are often clouded by the forces which brought the process into being and are otherwise affected by the way the process is managed. This chapter records the feelings, opinions or attitudes of diverse groups of persons in the Durham City Schools about the district's desegregation plan and the programs and practices that accompanied it.

The Plan

Perceptions of Principals

During the onsite visit to this district, eight principals were interviewed. Four in elementary schools, two in junior high schools, and two in senior high schools. Each was asked to respond to the statements below:

1. Describe how you were involved in the district's desegregation plan.
2. Describe the way(s) you were affected by the plan and your feelings about such.

While each principal had a knowledge of the plan all but one suggested that they had no direct involvement in the development of the plan. The one exception indicated that he was involved in the setting up of an educational course at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that dealt with the integration process, and he "worked on the state level" with problems of integration by virtue of his chairmanship of the Durham Human Relations Commission. Other examples of involvement were given but, like the one previously stated, they were divorced from the conceptualization of the district's plan.

As for ways the principals were affected by the change and their feeling about such, most of the answers given dealt more with what happened to their schools organizationally, rather than what happened to them. For example, one previously all-white elementary school and the previously all-white high school mentioned that their school population had shifted to majority black and to a lower SES type student. Two schools mentioned that they were paired. One principal mentioned that he was transferred. Some principals suggested that the change had little or no measurable effect on them.

Perceptions of Teachers

In Chapter III the writer recorded the responses given by 24 teachers to a series of questions that revealed their knowledge of the district's plan. To summarize, 20 (81%) stated that they knew about the plan; two (9%) had no knowledge of it. There was ambivalence about how they became familiar with the plan or the extent to which the school officials articulated the plan. Six (25%) indicated there was no articulation from school officials; eight (33%) learned of the plan through announcements in the news media; and six (25%) learned about the plan by attending Board of Education meetings. Fourteen (58%) of these respondents stated that they had no involvement in the planning of the integration plan, five (21%) did not respond to the query, and four (17%) recalled a minimal involvement through such organizations as the city teachers' association or the "Women In Action."

Additional questions were asked of teachers that were not recorded in Chapter III. These questions dealt primarily with the perceptions of the teachers about the impact the plan had upon them, and the way the plan is currently working.

1. What were the major concerns of faculty and staff over the integration plan?

Concern of black teachers being accepted by white teachers and students and vice versa - 4

Movement of faculty who had often worked "long and hard together" - 3

How to discipline, teach and otherwise deal with lower SES types - 3

Don't know - 6

No major concerns - 3

No answer - 5

2. How did the district respond to those concerns?

No response or nothing - 9

Open communication through Human Relations Commission - 1

Provided audio-visual aides and workshops in reading - 1

Superintendent talks and workshops - 1

Sent out questionnaires about feelings - 1

Talked with different community groups - 1

No answer - 10

3. What were the major concerns of parents and the community over the plan?

Blacks afraid of getting unfair treatment; whites of lowered standards - 2

Blacks worried about how their children would be received - 1

Whites afraid of attacks and intimidation by blacks, afraid white kids would learn derogatory things from blacks - 1

Loss of black's identity - 1

Don't know - 5

Whites afraid of black teachers' disciplinary methods - 1

Whites against bussing and racial mixture - 5

Whites becoming the minority - 1

Parents had no concerns - 1

Whites concerned about different language patterns of blacks - 1

Loss of experienced black teachers to "White schools" - 1

Fairness of white teachers to blacks and incompetence of black teachers - 1

No answer - 3

4. How did the district respond to those concerns?

District either didn't respond or did not respond well - 6

Workshops and community meetings - 3

Superintendent dealt with parents directly - 1

Don't know or not sure - 4

No answer - 10

5. What is being done now on an on-going basis to improve the integration efforts?

Individual school programs by PTA - 1

Nothing -13

Voluntary workshops - 2

All new teachers have a workshop at the beginning of their first term; Human Relations Week at both high schools - 1

Human Relations meetings with staff - 1

No answer - 5

"Self-study evaluation" included a section on integration - 1

6. What communications or directions have you received from the central office to guide you in effecting integration?

Received booklet on integration - 3

Rules and regulations as per usual - 1

Situation now stable, don't need such - 1

Nothing - 13

No answer - 6

7. What communications or directions have you received from your principal to guide you in effecting integration?

Verbal reminders in faculty meetings - 3

Received booklet on "Getting Along" - 1

Verbal guidelines - 1

Nothing - 13

No answer - 6

8. In general, how would you say integration is working in your school?

Working fine, very well, quite well, very smoothly, excellent - 10

Having the best year of four - 1

4

Reasonably well, okay, improving - 6

We don't have integration and only partially desegregation - 1

It's not working, it's a failure, not working well - 6

9. In summary, what would you say were the key factors which led to successful integration?

Forced integration, no way out, and faculty cooperation	- 2
Upper middle class white students are "liberal thinkers" and accepting students	- 2
Good faculty relationship and cooperation	- 4
Principal is positive and fair	- 2
Human relations workshop, learning through living and intelligence of staff	- 6
Determination by town that it could work	- 2
Not working successfully	- 6

(Some of the reasons given for the lack of success of the plan were: "people in positions are concerned about 'image,' not making it work"; "attitudes over-all poor"; "There is too much 'Black Power' and rhetoric--no 'brain power'; "dictatorial administration.")

Perceptions of Counselors

As was alluded to in Chapter II, five guidance counselors in the district were interviewed. Four of the five responded that they were familiar with the plan. The fifth one had a vague notion of what it was all about. They were not involved in planning for integration, and as teachers indicated, they learned about the plan through the news media.

The series of questions asked of teachers were repeated with counselors. The pattern of responses with counselors was as varied as it was with teachers. The writer has summarized those responses below:

1. On faculty and staff concerns -- All concerned about having to leave old schools; blacks concerned about whites' attitudes of superiority, whites' inability to accept blacks; whites feared disciplining black

students and teaching different kinds of students.

2. On district's response to concerns -- Three felt that workshops and verbal assurances were adequate responses; two said that there were no responses.

3. On parent and community concerns -- Whites feared interracial dating, harsh disciplinary methods, lowering of quality of education, and bussing. Blacks feared unfair treatment, closing of black schools and bussing.

4. On current efforts made to improve integration -- All agreed that little or nothing is being done.

5. On success of integration in their schools -- Responses varied -- one rated it "fair," one "okay," one "not successfully," and one "it couldn't be better," and one "very successful."

6. On key factors of success -- Cooperation of faculty and staff, the movement of high SES whites into the black schools, positive attitude toward the process and good communication across the board were cited.

Social and Friendship Patterns of Faculty, Staff and Students

Faculty, staff and students were asked in interviews to share their perceptions of the social and friendship patterns that have emerged since schools in the district were desegregated. Their responses are recorded below:

Perceptions of Principals

Student/Student Interaction. Principals interviewed were asked to respond to the question "To what extent do students group themselves in the following: 1) Before/after school, 2) Lunchroom, 3) Assemblies, 4) Classrooms, and 5) School events?"

Principals in elementary schools responded differently depending upon whether students walked or were bussed. Two principals whose students were bussed indicated that there was not much interaction between white and black students generally. The two whose students walked to and from school reported that students interact freely.

Junior high principals indicated that there does not appear to be reluctance on the part of their students generally to interact before and during school. The picture was not as clear as far as after school contacts were concerned.

In the high schools there appeared to be a bit more isolation. While there is little interaction during school, there appears to be even less after school.

Teacher/Teacher Interaction. Attempts were made during interviews with principals to determine the extent to which black and white teachers group themselves before and after school, in lunchrooms, in lounge areas, and at teachers' meetings. The general pattern found was that teachers co-mingled during working hours, but the suspicion was that such was not carried over to after school hours very much.

Teachers' Perceptions

Student/Student Interaction. The following question was posed to teachers who were interviewed:

> "To what extent do students group themselves in the following?
>
> a. Before/after school
> b. Lunchrooms
> c. Assemblies
> d. Classrooms
> e. School events."

As might be expected, answers varied considerably across classes within schools and across levels within the district. At the elementary level, the writer sorted out responses of teachers from schools whose students are bussed, and those whose students walk. It appeared as though the bussing phenomenon had little effect on student/student interactional patterns, based on teacher responses. Even in instances where students walk to school, teacher responses ranged from no interaction to very free interaction during school hours. There was consensus that neighborhood patterns and other variables mitigate against social contact outside of the school environment.

Teachers' responses at the junior high level were quite different in the two schools visited. In Carr Junior High School teachers expressed that students mix very well in school and are beginning to do more of the same after school. In Whitted Junior High, teachers expressed that students co-mingle well at school but suggested that neighborhood patterns and bussing, among other things, prevented after school contact.

As a general rule teachers interviewed in the high schools, regardless of school or subject matter taught, stated that community friendship groups tended to influence the school friendship patterns. While they did not recount any overt attempts by students of different races to isolate themselves from each other during school hours, the natural result of mingling with community friendship groups is a lack of across-race friendship patterns emerging within school. These teachers agreed also that community friendship patterns as well as differences in SES prevent the establishment of friendship patterns after school.

Students' Perceptions

Student/student interaction. The following section lists responses (some verbatim) of some students who were interviewed in group sessions held in Carr Junior High and Durham High and Hillside High Schools. Though the sample is not large nor is it necessarily representative, the writer included the responses as they appear to add an interesting dimension to the study of attitudes. [See next page]

Students' Perceptions

Group A - Five black students--Carr Junior High school

Interviewer - Is there black/white student interaction during school or after school? Have there been any recent incidents of tension or conflict?

Students - There was consensus that there is some interaction during school. One student, put it, "I won't say there's a lot, or a little. But, we do get together." Most felt that interaction between the race is increasing both in and out of school. Currently, they agree that there is minimal contact outside school. They were unanimous in their expression that there has been no recent incidents of tension or conflict.

Group B - Five white students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - Is there black/white student interaction during school or after school? Have there been any recent incidents of tension or conflict?

Students - Students also expressed that there is interracial contact during school but that it is nil after school hours. They confirmed that there have been no recent incidents of conflict and ventured that the school is relatively free of tension.

Group C - Five white students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - In general how have white and black students co-mingled here?

Student - Not very well. While there is theoretical desegregation, there is practiced segregation. The differences in culture, class and economics force separation (one student speaking, others agreeing).

Interviewer - Can I assume that the separation you refer to carries over into your friendships after school.

Student - Quite definitely. Blacks like different things than I. they as a group have different priorities.

Interviewer - Would you explain?

Student - Take black boys, they are interested in talking about the girls, jiving around in the halls, lottering around the basketball courts and other things like that. They are not serious about their subjects, blacks in the choir or band don't care. I take pride in my school work, and before I came here I took pride in my school.

Interviewer - Has the latter changed? Do you have no sense of attachment to this school?

Student - I don't.

Interviewer - Would others of you like to comment on the emotional climate in the school?

Students - There was agreement that the school isn't likely to explode. While there is an awareness that people of different races inhabit the building, there is no attempt to do more with it than tolerate it.

Interviewer - Would you comment more specifically about friendship patterns outside the school? Do you have black friends, with whom you study, you visit or have visit your house?

Students - Students unanimously answered this question in the negative. Answers centered about the differences in life style, class, culture, and religion.

Group D - Five white students--Durham High School

Interviewer - Where would you find most of the black students in terms of hangouts, e.g., cafeteria, the lavatory, etc.?

Students - Out in front (of school) or in the cafeteria. Before school there's about 40 (boys) in the gym and then after school. I go in there and play basketball...I'm the only white in there. But it really doesn't bother me and they know who I am and I know them and we get along fine.

Students in general felt that there is more togetherness in their high school than there was in their respective junior high schools. There were no reports of tension between the races. Likewise, there were no reports or cross racial friendships that extended beyond the school into their more personal lives.

Group E - Five black students--Durham High School

Interviewer - Is there much black/white interaction in this school or after school? Have there been any recent racial incidents here?

Students - Students voiced that black and whites never get together after school or during lunch, and seldom during other times during school hours. Whites as a rule go off campus for lunch. Many blacks remain on campus for lunch because more of them are on free lunch. Students expressed opposition to the idea of going to the extreme with black/white interaction. The latter includes but goes beyond interracial dating. No recent conflicts were reported.

Group F - Five black students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - How much black/white interaction can one find here? What about after school? Any recent racial incidents here?

Students - These students expressed that there is no interaction before and after school. Because of class compositions, habits and other reasons there is also little interaction in school. They recalled one teacher giving a "pizza party" to encourage more interaction and the development of friendship patterns. Attendance was good but the results were nil. They mentioned that there is very little interracial dating (only three known couples). Neither black nor white really care for it. As for negative incidents, they recalled "one or two" that were not very significant.

Attitude Toward School and Teachers:

Each of the previously listed groups was asked a series of questions that gave a reading on their attitudes toward their teachers and their school. The responses (some verbatim) are listed below:

Group A - Five black students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about this school in general?

Student - One student tended to speak for the remainder on this question. He suggested that the school is good in a way. The teachers are good, especially the white. Some of the black students are big mouths, bullies.

Interviewer - Do you feel, then, that there is a real difference between black and white teachers?

Student - White teachers give more education than black. I always had a math problem before I came to this school. Now that I have a white teacher who tries to understand, I don't have as much trouble with math.

Interviewer - Do you feel other black students share your feelings?

Student - Some do and some don't. It depends on what they want out of school and what experiences they have had.

Interviewer - What's the best thing you like about school? What's the least thing?

Student - I like my friends and the activities that are going on (others cited classes and teachers). As for things students did not like they mentioned the ugliness and age of the building, the uncleanliness of the bathrooms and school in general.

Group B - Five white students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - In general, how do you feel about your school?

Student - It's okay. It's not strict here. We have more freedom than any other school.

Interviewer - Did it bother you that there would be lots of black students in your school?

Student - No. I wasn't afraid of getting "beat up on," like in other schools. If you don't start anything here you don't get into any hassles.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers?

Students - Conversation revealed that teachers are liked or disliked, or respected or disrespected because of the amount of genuine interest they showed in students rather than because of race. Students voiced preference for teachers who demanded performance. When asked if more white than black, or vice versa, were found in the respected category, they indicated that they couldn't categorize by race.

Group C - Five white students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about this school in general?

Students - It was consensus that the school was of low quality, too easy for most white students found there.

Interviewer - What do you feel about the staff at the school?

Students - Students felt the staff generally had low expectation of the student body. They were critical of guidance indicating that it was nonfunctional.

Interviewer - Has desegregation posed any special problems for you other than those you alluded to?

Students - Students suggested that the school almost has no place in their lives, it's pretty much segregated and very much uninviting. There is not much school sprit and not much of a reason for putting oneself out for school.

Group D - Five white students--Durham High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about your school in general?

Student - Well, I had never been too crazy about school to begin with, but Durham High is alright. Everything is going along pretty good now that desegregation is already started. Like at first it was pretty rough but now everybody is okay and there are no problems.

Student - That's because this is his last year!

Interviewer - Why don't you like it?

Student - It is better than sitting at home...I don't like the faculty... One thing that I found odd about Durham High is that there is so much emphasis away from school activities, just academics.

Interviewer - How do the others of you find the school in general?

Student - I enjoy it, sometimes it gets a little rough. In a sense, I like the school. I kind of look at it like a tradition. My parents came here, and my brother and sister.

Interviewer - Do you think it changed much?

Student - I don't know. It may have fallen a little bit.

Interviewer - Academically?

Student - Well, I'd say the school spirit. In some cases it has fallen. They told me like people go to a basketball game or football game, and a lot of people showed up. But, now this is kind of changing...

Interviewer - How do you feel about the white teachers here? Do you feel any differences between relationships with the black teachers over your white teachers?

Student - I don't think its because they're white or black. I don't think there's any difference.

Student - This year I've got one white teacher and three black teachers and I get along fine with them but I don't know which is the best. It's hard to say. All of them in general are fine teachers. They want you to learn. Some teachers show prejudice toward whites or toward blacks but I can get along with anybody.

Interviewer - Do you think any particular group reaches out to you?

Student - No. I reach out to everybody because I've been a slow learner all my life, you know, it takes me a while to get something through my head. Like last year when I was over here, they just zipped through things like that and I didn't get a chance to catch anything but this year they take more time out. (Students were generally positive about the staff at Durham High. They cited instances where black and white teachers were not of their choosing, but indicated they looked at these as being undesirable teachers, not undesirable black teachers or undesirable white teachers.)

Group E - Five black students--Durham High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about your school in general?

Students - Students were not very enthused about the school. They expressed concern about the predominantly white administration. They were troubled by what they considered unfair treatment that blacks get.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers, black and white?

Students - Students were quite vocal about the prejudices that they felt existed in the teaching ranks. They expressed that white teachers have a negative influence on the learning process of many blacks, damaging their self image and killing their aspirations to excel. Only two of the students had had a black teacher in this school, except as a substitute. In recalling their experiences with black teachers from junior high schools, they felt these teachers cared more than the ones they currently have.

Group F - Five black students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - How do you like your school? Why?

Students - Students indicated they like the school because it is majority black. They have a social life at this school, and they feel they can be themselves. The thing they liked least was what they perceived to be a lack of preparation they were receiving for competing in college.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers, white and black?

Students - In general, students felt black teachers seem to care more that black kids make it than do white teachers. "Except for those white teachers fresh out of Duke, they don't relate to black kids." This hurts the latter because curriculum offerings and subject matter are pitched above the comprehension level of many blacks. Whites don't suffer the same effects because the prejudice against them is not as overt on the one hand, and the home environments have equipped them to handle the subject matter on the other hand. Students expressed that in some instances white teachers give preferential treatment to white students when it comes to grades. Even when students don't measure up to their capabilities, they are often given the benefit of the doubt. These students didn't feel black students were given the same consideration.

In addition to asking some students to respond to a series of questions in group sessions, a sample of students in grades 10-12, from both high schools, was asked on a Student Interview Form: "Do you think that most of your teachers are interested in you and really want to help you become successful in school?" Twenty-seven (27) students from Hillside High and fifty-one (51) students at Durham High School, all of whom were selected randomly from study halls during the time of the team's visit, responded. The grade-by-grade, school-by-school and race-by-race responses are listed below:

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 10--Hillside (N=8)				
5 B	4	50%	1	13%
3 W	1	13%	2	25%
Grade 10--Durham High (N=31)				
21 B	12	39%	4	13%
10 W	7	23%	3	10%
Grade 11--Hillside (N=13)				
12 B	11	85%	1	8%
1 W	1	8%	0	0%

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 11--Durham High (N=8)				
7 B	6	75%	1	13%
1 W	0	0%	1	13%
Grade 12--Hillside (N=6)				
5 B	4	67%	1	17%
1 W	1	17%	0	0%
Grade 12--Durham High (N=12)				
3 B	2	17%	1	8%
9 W	7	58%	2	17%

The percentages used are based on the total number of all students responding for a grade. Thus, the "Yes" responses for whites and those for blacks, when totalled for a grade level, serve as an indication of how students feel about the concern teachers have for their welfare. A quick glance shows that in each case the students were positive in their response to this question.

Another question students were asked to respond to was, "Is there a teacher or staff member you can go to when you want to talk about some problem (school or personal) that bothers you?" The intent of the question was to augment previous readings on how students feel about their school's ability to respond to their academic and personal needs. Their responses were as follows:

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 10--Hillside (N=8)				
5 B	2	25	3	38
3 W			3	38
Grade 10--Durham High (N=31)				
21 B	16	52	5	16
10 W	3	10	7	23
Grade 11--Hilside (N=13)				
12 B	7	54	5	38
1 W	1	8	0	0
Grade 11--Durham High (N=8)				
7 B	5	63	2	25
1 W	1	13		
Grade 12--Hillside (N=6)				
5 B	3	50	2	33
1 W	1	17		
Grade 12--Durham High (N=12)				
3 B	1	8	2	17
9 W	4	33	5	42

The "No" responses were more pronounced on this question than on the previous one. This was true for each grade level for each race in each school, with the exception of grade 11 at Durham High School.

Equality of Student Discipline

During the process of desegregation there have been numerous citations of differential treatment being used between the races. A major concern of many minority parents and students, as well as faculty and staff, has been the kind of treatment their children would be subjected to once change had occurred. During the onsite visit to Durham City Schools students and faculty and staff were asked questions about the quantity and the equality or inequality of discipline in their schools.

Five of the eight principals who were interviewed completed a School Information Form on which a section on Expulsions, Suspensions and Discipline was found. The section asked the respondents to give an estimate of the number and percent of expulsions by racial groups over the last twelve months, to give the major reasons for expulsions and to identify the proportion of suspension and other discipline cases that were attributable to majority and minority students.

Table 11 shows that there were no expulsions in the elementary schools. The suspension rate at Club Boulevard was given as 80 percent black and 20 percent white. This compares with a black/white enrollment of 54 percent/46 percent. The suspension rates at the other elementary schools were more in line with the racial breakdown of their student population.

Table 11 also shows that one student was expelled at Carr Junior High. The reason given for this expulsion was the student threatened the life of another student. Carr's 50 percent black/50 percent white student suspension rate w[illegible] not out of line with the racial makeup of its student body. The same is true for the suspension rate at Whitted. At a glance the 98 percent black/2 percent white student suspension rate appears to be racially skewed. However, it is not out of kilter with the 93 percent black/7 percent white student population that is found there.

TABLE 11
Expulsions, Suspensions and Discipline in Five Durham City Schools

School	Total No. Expulsions	Percent Expulsions		Percent Suspensions	
		Black	White	Black	White
Elementary					
Club Boulevard	0	0	0	80%	20%
Holloway Street	0	0	0	1%	1%
Morehead	0	0	0	3	4
				(Numbers instead of % suppli	
Junior High					
Carr	1	1	0		
	(Number Supplied instead of %)			50%	50%
Whitted	0	0	0	98%	2%

* As estimated by principals over the last 12 months

Perceptions of Teachers on Discipline

The following question was asked of teachers who were interviewed: "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are more of a problem than white students?" Fifteen of the 25 respondents (60%) responded "No" to this question. Two respondents, who neither answered yes or no, stated "Poor students are worst discipline problems," and "More blacks end up in the Dean's office. Whites eat more cheese." Two teachers did not respond to the question. Six (24%) of the respondents stated that black students present more of the discipline problems than white students. Of the six who answered "Yes," four were black (two at the elementary level and two at the high school level). In most instances teachers who felt black students to be more of a discipline problem attributed it to their low SES.

Teachers were also asked to respond to the question, "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are treated preferentially, more severely, or in any way differently than are white students?" Twenty-one (84%) of the teachers responded "No" to this question; two did not respond; one teacher responded "Yes" (explanation--"Black kids get suspended but not whites"); and one teacher answered, "It's according to the incident, the students and the teacher."

Perceptions of Counselors on Discipline

Five counselors were asked the question, "In terms of discipline, do you see black students as being more of a problem than white students?" Three of the five were high school counselors, two of whom commented that they do not handle discipline problems. Such problems are turned over to the deans. The other high school counselor indicated that "Black kids fight each other. . . . They have home-related problems. . . . The school shows no concern." Two of the counselors were from junior high schools. Both responded that black students were no more of a discipline problem than white students. One counselor ventured that it has been her experience that the non-reader, both black and white, present the problems.

Each of the five counselors responded "No" to the question, "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are treated preferentially, more harshly, or in any way differently?"

Perceptions of Students on Discipline

Students in each of the group sessions were asked a question or a series of questions on the equality of treatment between black and white students as far as discipline is concerned. The questions and their responses follow:

Group A - Five black students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - Are the rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - The students were in accord that black and white are treated alike when they create problems. One student put it, "Blacks get it just like the whites." Another added, "The same thing happens the other way round."

Group B - Five white students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - Are the rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - Students expressed that "there are few rules here." They stated that the rules against wearing hats appear to be directed towards the black population and also extend to girls wearing scarves. Other rules that exist appear to be equally enforced.

Group C - Five white students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - Are the rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - The students showed ambivalence on this question. They all agreed that "Mr. Aiston cares about students." They considered him an asset to the school and a fair man.

Group D - Five white students--Durham High School

Interviewer - How about the way rules are enforced here? Are they enforced?

Student - I feel they are partly enforced. Some teachers enforce them and some don't. . .

Interviewer - Is that true with black and white students alike?

Student - Yes. I know one teacher, she's short and she won't let nobody tell her. She don't care how big they are. She don't take no junk from nobody. . . . [The other students attested to the equality of discipline of black and white students as used by teachers with whom they had had contact.]

Group E - Five black students--Durham High School

Interviewer - Are rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - Students complained that black students are not fairly treated at this school. They felt rules were unfair, citing that much of black culture and things which black people liked were not understood or tolerated by white faculty and students--for example, the black fashions and fads, the black dialect, and black behavior in general. They did feel they could seek refuge in a black female counselor who was termed the salvation for many black pupils who graduate.

Group F - Five black students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - Are rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - Students expressed doubt as to what the rules were. They felt that the administration was lenient on everyone allowing them to "do what you want to do." They did not believe this mode of operation posed any problem for anyone.

Attitudes Toward the Opposite Race

Two forms of a Social Belief Inventory were administered to a total of 90 students (34 were white and 56 were black) in grades 10-12 at both high schools in Durham. Form A was administered to white students and Form B to black students. Administrations took place in study halls during the time of the onsite visit to each school. Participation on the part of the student was voluntary. The sample was not necessarily representative of the total school population.

The purpose of the inventory was to get an additional reading of students' beliefs about and cognitions of members of the opposite race, with the hopes of determining how such beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race. The inventory was a Likert-type scale which asked students to indicate their agreement with each of twenty-three items by checking Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree or Strongly Disagree. A frequency check was made to determine the number and percentage of students who responded on each item.

Tables 12-14 summarize items found on Form A, and Tables 15-17 summarize those found on Form B, The choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree were converted to values from one to five with one being Strongly Agree and five being Strongly Disagree.

TABLE 12

Male Responses (N=23)

Social Belief Inventory—Form A

Item	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	9	8	4	2	0
	%	39	35	17	9	0
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	1	5	10	7	0
	%	4	22	43	30	0
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	1	2	3	6	10
	%	4	9	13	26	43
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	6	11	6	0	0
	%	26	48	26	0	0
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	4	8	4	7	0
	%	17	35	17	30	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	1	5	5	5	6
	%	4	22	22	22	26
7. Most minority groups can handle Whites honest behavior and feelings.	No.	0	7	7	5	0
	%	0	30	30	22	0
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes	No.	10	6	0	3	0
	%	48	26	0	13	0
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	0	2	3	6	7
	%	0	9	13	26	30

TABLE 12 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.	No.	0	2	3	6	7
	%	0	9	30	26	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use Whites.	No.	1	4	5	9	0
	%	4	17	22	39	0
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	3	14	2	0	0
	%	13	61	9	0	0
13. Minority groups want a responsible society.	No.	3	10	5	1	0
	%	13	43	22	4	0
14. The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other blacks.	No.	0	3	7	6	3
	%	0	13	30	26	13
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	1	6	5	4	3
	%	4	26	22	17	13
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	1	8	5	3	2
	%	4	35	22	13	9
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	2	5	10	4
	%	0	9	22	48	17
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	1	5	5	8	4
	%	4	22	22	35	17

TABLE 12 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	1	2	3	10	5
	%	4	9	13	43	22
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	0	10	3	5	3
	%	0	43	13	22	13
21. When Blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	1	1	10	6	4
	%	4	4	43	26	17
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	0	4	10	7	2
	%	0	17	43	30	9
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	0	3	2	5	13
	%	0	13	9	22	57

TABLE 13

Female Responses (N=11)

Social Belief Inventory—Form A

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	3	5	2	1	0
	%	27	45	18	9	0
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	1	2	4	4	0
	%	9	18	36	36	0
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	0	0	2	2	6
	%	0	0	18	18	55
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	6	1	2	2	0
	%	55	9	18	18	0
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	1	3	3	3	0
	%	9	27	27	27	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	0	1	4	3	3
	%	0	9	36	27	27
7. Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	0	3	6	1	0
	%	0	27	55	9	0
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	7	3	0	1	0
	%	64	27	0	9	0
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	0	1	2	2	6
	%	0	9	18	18	55

TABLE 13 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.	No.	0	2	3	5	1
	%	0	18	27	45	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use Whites.	No.	0	0	5	5	1
	%	0	0	45	45	9
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	8	2	1	0	0
	%	73	18	9	0	0
13. Minority groups want a responsible society.	No.	1	5	3	1	1
	%	9	45	27	9	9
14. The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.	No.	0	2	2	4	3
	%	0	18	18	36	27
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	0	3	1	5	1
	%	0	27	9	45	9
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	0	4	5	2	0
	%	0	36	45	18	0
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	1	4	6	0
	%	0	9	36	55	0
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	0	3	2	2	4
	%	0	27	18	18	36

TABLE 13 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	1	1	3	3	3
	%	9	9	27	27	27
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	1	7	1	2	0
	%	9	64	9	18	0
21. When Blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	0	1	3	2	4
	%	0	9	27	18	36
22. Black supervisors, meanagers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	0	2	3	5	1
	%	0	18	27	45	9
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	0	1	1	3	6
	%	0	9	9	27	55

TABLE 14

Total Responses (N=34)

Social Belief Inventory—Form A

Item	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	12	13	6	3	0
	%	35	38	18	9	0
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	2	7	14	11	0
	%	5	21	41	32	0
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	1	2	5	8	16
	%	3	6	15	24	47
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	12	12	8	2	0
	%	35	35	24	6	0
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	5	11	7	10	0
	%	15	32	21	29	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	1	6	9	8	9
	%	3	18	26	24	26
7. Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	0	10	13	6	0
	%	0	29	38	18	0
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	17	9	0	4	0
	%	50	26	0	12	0
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	0	3	5	8	13
	%	0	9	15	24	38

TABLE 14 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
10. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.	No.	0	4	10	11	3
	%	0	12	29	32	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use Whites.	No.	1	4	10	14	1
	%	3	12	29	41	3
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	11	16	3	0	0
	%	32	47	9	0	0
13. Minority groups want a responsible society.	No.	4	15	8	2	1
	%	12	44	24	6	3
14. The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.	No.	0	5	9	10	6
	%	0	15	26	29	18
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	1	9	6	9	4
	%	3	26	18	26	12
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	1	12	10	5	2
	%	3	35	29	15	6
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	3	9	16	4
	%	0	9	26	47	12
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	1	8	7	10	8
	%	3	24	21	29	24

TABLE 14 (CONTINUTED)

Item	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No. %	2 6	3 9	6 18	13 38	8 24
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No. %	1 3	17 50	4 12	7 21	3 9
21. When Blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No. %	1 3	2 6	13 38	8 24	8 24
22. Black supervisors, meanagers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No. %	0 0	6 18	13 38	12 35	3 9
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No. %	0 0	4 12	3 9	8 24	19 56

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	4	10	8	3	6
	%	13	32	26	10	19
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	2	5	9	10	4
	%	6	16	29	32	13
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	1	13	9	7
	%	0	3	42	29	23
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	1	16	6	2	1
	%	13	52	19	6	3
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	2	2	6	9	11
	%	6	6	19	29	48

TABLE 15

Male Responses (N=31)

Social Belief Inventory—Form B

Item	Score	1	2	3	4	5
		Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages				
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No. %	2 6	5 16	19 61	3 10	2 6
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No. %	8 26	14 45	2 6	5 16	2 6
3. Whites can not and will not change except by force.	No. %	4 13	3 10	12 39	11 35	1 3
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No. %	4 13	11 35	9 29	6 19	1 3
5. Whites are distrustful.	No. %	4 13	5 16	12 39	10 32	0 0
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No. %	4 13	15 48	9 26	3 10	1 3
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No. %	6 19	10 32	6 19	1 3	1 3
8. Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No. %	4 13	13 42	3 10	3 10	1 3
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No. %	2 6	4 13	10 32	7 23	1 3

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	7	11	4	1	1
	%	23	35	13	3	3
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	1	7	12	2	2
	%	3	23	39	6	6
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	7	11	2	4	0
	%	23	35	6	13	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	1	5	11	5	1
	%	3	16	35	16	3
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	4	8	5	5	1
	%	13	26	16	16	3
15. Some whites have "Soul."	No.	4	7	6	5	2
	%	13	23	19	16	6
16. All whites are racists.	No.	1	2	11	8	2
	%	3	6	35	26	6
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	3	7	12	7	1
	%	10	23	39	23	3
18. All whites are alike.	No.	1	2	6	12	9
	%	3	6	19	39	29

TABLE 16

Female Responses (N=25)

Social Belief Inventory--Form B

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No. %	2 8	6 24	14 56	2 8	0 0
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No. %	4 16	6 24	7 28	5 20	2 8
3. Whites can not and will not change except by force.	No. %	1 4	7 28	9 36	7 28	0 0
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No. %	5 20	6 24	8 32	5 20	0 0
5. Whites are distrustful.	No. %	1 4	5 20	14 56	2 8	1 4
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No. %	1 12	6 24	12 48	2 8	0 0
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No. %	5 20	14 56	3 12	0 0	0 0
8. Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No. %	5 20	13 52	4 16	0 0	0 0
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No. %	2 8	5 20	11 44	4 16	0 0

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No. %	6 24	12 48	3 12	1 4	0 0
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No. %	0 0	6 24	10 40	6 24	0 0
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No. %	4 16	11 44	4 16	3 12	0 0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No. %	0 0	3 12	14 56	3 12	2 8
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No. %	4 16	6 24	9 36	2 8	1 4
15. Some whites have "Soul."	No. %	2 8	7 28	6 24	2 8	5 20
16. All whites are racists.	No. %	0 0	0 0	8 32	13 52	1 4
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No. %	1 4	4 16	10 40	7 28	0 0
18. All whites are alike.	No. %	1 4	1 4	2 8	13 52	6 24

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	2	1	9	7	4
	%	8	4	36	28	16
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	0	9	9	3	2
	%	0	36	36	12	8
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	3	2	8	10
	%	0	12	8	32	40
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	6	6	7	2	2
	%	24	24	28	8	8
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	1	1	5	13	3
	%	4	4	20	52	12

TABLE 17

Total Responses (N=56)

Social Belief Inventory--Form B

Item	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	4	11	13	5	2
	%	7	20	59	9	4
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	12	20	9	10	4
	%	21	36	16	18	7
3. Whites can not and will not change except by force.	No.	5	10	21	18	1
	%	9	18	38	32	2
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	9	17	17	11	1
	%	16	30	30	20	2
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	5	10	26	12	1
	%					
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	7	21	20	5	1
	%	13	38	36	9	2
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	11	24	9	1	1
	%	20	43	16	2	2
8. Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	9	26	7	3	1
	%	16	46	13	5	2
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	4	9	21	11	1
	%	7	16	38	20	2

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	13	23	7	2	1
	%	23	41	13	4	2
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	1	13	22	8	2
	%	2	23	39	14	4
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	11	22	6	7	0
	%	20	39	11	13	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	1	8	25	8	3
	%	2	14	45	14	5
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	8	14	14	7	2
	%	14	25	25	13	4
15. Some whites have "Soul."	No.	6	14	12	7	7
	%	11	25	21	13	13
16. All whites are racists.	No.	1	2	19	21	3
	%	2	4	34	38	5
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	4	11	22	14	1
	%	7	20	39	25	2
18. All whites are alike.	No.	2	3	8	25	15
	%	4	5	14	45	27

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
		1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	6	11	17	10	10
	%	11	20	30	18	18
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	2	14	18	13	6
	%	4	25	32	23	11
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	4	15	17	17
	%	0	7	27	30	30
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	10	22	13	4	3
	%	18	39	23	7	5
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	3	3	11	22	14
	%	5	5	20	39	25

After obtaining a frequency count for each item an attempt was made to determine which items in the inventory were highly related to each other. For this purpose the statistical technique of factor analysis was used. The purpose of factor analysis in this case would be to identify clusters of interrelated items in order to clarify the conceptual content of the questionnaire and to aid in the removal of highly specific and uninformative items.

On the basis of item correlations, a table of factor loadings was obtained using the conventional method of principle factor analysis (Tucker communality estimates, Kaiser's latent root one criterion for number of factors) followed by varimax and promax rotation.

The factor analysis is useful for identifying homogeneous subsets of items and can be regarded as a descriptive classification of the items on each instrument. In this case it resulted in the identification of seven factors on each form. Items which have high loadings on each factor can be expected to be highly related in terms of their observed correlations. On the basis of the promax primary factor loadings the factors which appear below were identified. Also a table of correlation among the items with loadings ± .30 is presented for each factor.

Form A

Factor I--Belief in over-aggressiveness and exploitative tendencies of blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.95	19	Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.78	5	Minority groups are over-sensitive.
.74	3	White society is superior to minority group societies.
-.72	1	Color is not important in individual relationships.
.58	6	Minority groups must be controlled.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.46	11	Minority group persons are trying to use whites.
-.41	2	Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--I

	19	5	3	1	6	11	2
19	-	.53	.58	-.51	.45	.37	-.09
5	.53	-	.51	-.33	.56	.55	.16
3	.58	.51	-	-.40	.69	.48	.06
1	-.51	-.33	-.40	-	-.38	-.38	.21
6	.45	.56	.69	-.38	-	.55	.35
11	.37	.55	.48	-.38	.55	-	.08
2	-.09	.16	.06	.21	.35	.08	-

Tables 12 and 13 give a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. For the purpose of this study those responses, listed in percentages, are reported in three categories’ Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I--Items--Form A

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	13%	18%
U	13%	27%
D	65%	54%

5 Minority groups are over-sensitive.

	Male	Female
A	52%	36%
U	17%	27%
D	30%	27%

3 White society is superior to minority group societies.

	Male	Female
A	13%	0%
U	13%	18%
D	67%	73%

1 Color is not important in individual relationships.

A	72%	72%
U	17%	18%
D	9%	9%

6 Minority groups must be controlled.

A	26%	9%
U	22%	36%
D	48%	49%

11 Minority group persons are trying to use whites.

A	39%	54%
U	22%	45%
D	21%	0%

2 Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

A	30%	36%
U	43%	36%
D	26%	27%

Factor II--Belief in the interdependence of races.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.95	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
-.56	8	Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.
.56	2	Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.54	10	"Liberal" Whites are free of racism.
.48	11	Minority persons are trying to use whites.
.48	14	The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--II

	12	8	2	10	11	14
12	-	.45	-.37	-.38	-.34	-.26
8	.45	-	-.42	-.43	-.33	-.41
2	-.37	-.42	-	.33	.08	.18
10	-.38	-.43	.33	-	.36	.41
11	-.34	-.33	.08	.36	-	.57
14	-.26	-.41	.18	.41	.57	-

Male/female responses for items in this factor were:

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	74%	91%
U	9%	9%
D	0%	0%

8 Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.

	Male	Female
A	74%	91%
U	0%	0%
D	13%	9%

2 Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	26%	27%
U	43%	36%
D	30%	36%

10 "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.

	Male	Female
A	26%	27%
U	43%	36%
D	30%	36%

11 Minority persons are trying to use whites.

	Male	Female
A	21%	0
U	22%	45%
D	39%	54%

14 The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.

	Male	Female
A	13%	18%
U	30%	18%
D	49%	63%

Factor III--Belief of whites' knowledge of and understanding of black culture, competence and mannerisms.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.92	13	Minority groups want a responsible Society.
.63	18	All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors.
-.63	4	Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.
-.38	11	Minority persons are trying to use whites.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--III

	13	18	4	11
13	-	-.46	.51	.06
18	-.46	-	-.58	.25
4	.51	-.58	-	-.20
11	.06	.25	-.20	-

Male/female responses for items in this factor were as follows.

13 Minority groups want a responsible society.

	Male	Female
A	56%	54%
U	22%	27%
D	48%	18%

18 All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.

	Male	Female
A	26%	27%
U	22%	18%
D	52%	54%

4 Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.

	Male	Female
A	74%	64%
U	26%	18%
D	0%	18%

11 Minority persons are trying to use whites.

	Male	Female
A	21%	0%
U	22%	45%
D	39%	54%

Factor--IV--Belief in the inferiority of blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.67	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.
.50	14	The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against Blacks.
-.43	7	Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor—IV

	22	14	7
22	-	.36	-.13
14	.36	-	-.55
7	-.13	-.55	-

Male/female responses for items on this factor were:

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

	Male	Female
A	39%	54%
U	43%	27%
D	17%	18%

14 The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against Blacks.

A	13%	18%
U	30%	18%
D	39%	63%

7 Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

A	30%	27%
U	30%	55%
D	22%	9%

Factor—V—Belief in the need, desire and value of blacks being a part of white society.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.82	17	Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.
.65	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.61	7	Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--V

	17	23	7
17	-	.39	.30
23	.39	-	-.04
7	.30	-.04	-

Male/female responses for items in this factor were:

17 Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.

	Male	Female
A	9%	9%
U	22%	36%
D	65%	55%

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

A	13%	9%
U	9%	9%
D	79%	82%

7 Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

A	30%	27%
U	30%	55%
D	22%	9%

Factor VI--Belief in impatience of blacks with the ability of whites to empathize with minority probelms.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.90	16	Most minority groups are angry.
.77	15	Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--VI

	16	15
16	-	.37
15	.37	-

When there are only one or two items in a factor, it is difficult to tell exactly what they mean; however, the one and two factor items are presented anyway. Male/female responses on items in this factor were as follows:

		Male	Female
16 Most minority groups are angry.	A	39%	36%
	U	22%	45%
	D	22%	18%
15 Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	A	30%	27%
	U	22%	9%
	D	30%	54%

Factor VII--Belief in the worth of individuals, regardless of color.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.90	20	I may be a part of the problem.
-.59	1	Color is not important in individual relationships.
.35	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor VII

	20	1	22
20	-	-.23	.06
1	-.23	-	-.36
22	.06	-.36	-

Male/female responses were:

		Male	Female
20 I may be a part of the problem.	A	43%	73%
	U	13%	9%
	D	35%	18%
1 Color is not important in individual relationships.	A	9%	9%
	U	17%	18%
	D	74%	72%
22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	A	17%	18%
	U	43%	27%
	D	39%	54%

Form B

Factor I--Belief in racist tendencies in whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.83	17	Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.
.73	19	Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.60	16	All whites are racists.
.56	18	All whites are alike.
.52	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.
.42	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.42	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
.34	3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.
.34	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor I

	17	19	16	18	22	23	13	3	14
17	-	.49	.42	.54	.28	.34	.27	.27	.14
19	.49	-	.22	.22	.28	.34	.32	.23	.20
16	.42	.22	-	.50	.22	.17	.21	.18	.02
18	.54	.22	.50	-	.20	.41	.01	.47	.01
22	.28	.28	.22	.20	-	.12	.24	.18	.44
23	.34	.34	.17	.41	.12	-	.07	.16	.07
13	.27	.32	.21	.01	.24	.07	-	.20	.23
3	.27	.23	.18	.47	.18	.16	.20	-	.11
14	.14	.20	.02	.01	.44	.07	.23	.11	-

Tables 15 and 16 show a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. As with the reporting of Form A results, responses are listed in percentages and are reported in three Categories,-- Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I--Items--Form B

17 Whites are united in their attitudes toward minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	33%	20%
U	39%	40%
D	26%	28%

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	45%	12%
U	26%	36%
D	29%	44%

			Male	Female
16	All whites are racists.	A	9%	0%
		U	35%	32%
		D	32%	56%
18	All whites are alike.	A	9%	8%
		U	19%	8%
		D	68%	76%
22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	A	65%	48%
		U	19%	28%
		D	9%	16%
23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	A	12%	8%
		U	19%	20%
		D	77%	64%
13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	A	19%	12%
		U	35%	56%
		D	19%	20%
3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.	A	23%	32%
		U	39%	36%
		D	38%	28%

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

	Male	Female
A	39%	40%
U	16%	36%
D	19%	12%

Factor II—Belief in the interdependence of races.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.74	8	Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.
.72	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
.68	10	Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.
.66	7	Some whites can help and "do their own thing."
.62	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.
.46	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor II

	8	12	10	7	14	22
8	-	.43	.64	.54	.23	.13
12	.43	-	.33	.31	.06	.18
10	.64	.33	-	.34	.36	.22
7	.54	.31	.34	-	.22	.09
14	.23	.06	.36	.22	-	.44
22	.13	.18	.22	.09	.44	-

Male/female responses on items in Factor II were:

8 Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.

	Male	Female
A	55%	72%
U	10%	16%
D	13%	0%

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	58%	60%
U	6%	16%
D	13%	12%

10 Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.

	Male	Female
A	58%	72%
U	13%	12%
D	6%	4%

7 Some whites can help and "do their own thing."

	Male	Female
A	51%	76%
U	19%	12%
D	6%	0%

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

	Male	Female
A	39%	40%
U	16%	36%
D	19%	12%

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

	Male	Female
A	65%	8%
U	19%	20%
D	9%	64%

Factor III--Belief in the trustfulness and truthfulness of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.71	5	Whites are distrustful.
.71	11	Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.
.65	9	Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.
.42	3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

Item intercorrelations—Factor III

	5	11	9	3
5	-	.33	.39	.35
11	.33	-	.35	.27
9	.39	.35	-	.24
3	.35	.27	.24	-

Male/female responses on Factor III were as follows.

5 Whites are distrustful.

	Male	Female
A	29%	24%
U	39%	56%
D	32%	12%

11 Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	26%	24%
U	39%	40%
D	12%	24%

9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

	Male	Female
A	19%	28%
U	32%	44%
D	26%	16%

3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

	Male	Female
A	23%	32%
U	39%	36%
D	38%	28%

Both Form A and Form B of the Social Belief Inventory provided useful and interesting information about the attitudes of students toward the opposite race. However, the writer chose to refrain from drawing conclusions about how students' beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race because of: (1) the unsystematic way the sample was drawn, (2) the limited number of variables looked at, and (3) the size of the sample. Even so, it was interesting to note the comparability of responses between males and females for items in each factor for both forms of the inventory.

The writer noted that the responses of white males and white females to each item in each factor were very similar. There was only one exception where the difference in the way males and females responded to a question differed by 20 percent or more. The item is identified below:
Item 11, Factor III: Males-21% Agree; Females-0% Agree.

As with white respondents, black males and black females maintained a high degree of consistency in the way they responded to inventory items. The items per factor on which there was a 20 percent or more difference in the way males and females responded were:

Item 19, Factor I: Males-45% Agree; Females-12% Agree

Item 7, Factor II: Males-51% Agree; Females- 76% Agree

Item 22, Factor II: Males 65% Agree; Females-8% Agree

Item 21, Factor VII: Males-52% Disagree; Females-72% Disagree

Factor IV--Belief in humaneness of whites as evidenced by a change in their attitudes toward blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.86	15	Some whites have "Soul."
.63	4	White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.
.39	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
-.34	18	All whites are alike.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor IV

	15	4	13	18
15	-	.32	.28	.33
4	.32	-	.20	.23
13	.28	.20	-	.01
18	.33	.23	.01	-

Male/female responses for Factor IV:

15 Some whites have "Soul."

	Male	Female
A	36%	36%
U	19%	24%
D	22%	28%

4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

	Male	Female
A	48%	44%
U	29%	32%
D	22%	20%

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

	Male	Female
A	19%	12%
U	35%	56%
D	19%	20%

18 All whites are alike.

	Male	Female
A	9%	8%
U	19%	8%
D	68%	76%

Factor V—Belief in the superiority of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.91	20	I may be part of the problem.
.59	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
.39	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor V

	20	13	12
20	-	-.43	.11
13	-.43	-	.04
12	.11	.04	-

Male/female responses on Factor V:

20 I may be part of the problem.

	Male	Female
A	22%	36%
U	29%	36%
D	45%	20%

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

	Male	Female
A	19%	12%
U	35%	56%
D	19%	20%

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	58%	60%
U	6%	16%
D	13%	12%

Factor VI—Belief in blacks' ability to size up whites and to negotiate the system.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.78	1	Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.
.71	2	The best way to be seen is to be heard.
-.42	4	White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor VI

	1	2	4
1	-	.33	-.17
2	.33	-	-.23
4	-.17	-.23	-

Male/female responses for Factor VI:

1 Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	22%	32%
U	61%	56%
D	16%	8%

2 The best way to be seen is to be heard.

A	71%	40%
U	6%	28%
D	22%	28%

4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

A	48%	44%
U	29%	32%
D	22%	20%

Factor VII—Belief in blacks' ability to understand and handle the exploitative tendencies in whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.79	6	Whites must deal on minority group terms now.
-.59	21	Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.
.45	9	Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor VII

	6	21	9
6	-	.22	.31
21	.22	-	-.13
9	.31	-.13	-

Male/female responses for Factor VII:

6 Whites must deal on minority groups terms now.

	Male	Female
A	61%	36%
U	26%	48%
D	13%	8%

21 Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.

	Male	Female
A	3%	12%
U	42%	8%
D	52%	72%

9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

	Male	Female
A	19%	28%
U	32%	44%
D	26%	16%

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSES--PLAN, PROGRAMS, PRACTICES, PROCEDURES

A Summary of Durham City Schools District Plan

On June 26, 1970 the Board of Education for Durham City Schools submitted to the U.S. Middle District of North Carolina a "Plan For Further Desegregation of The Durham City Schools" in response to a directive from the court, to provide a new plan for further integregation of city schools without a continuation of the seven-year-old "freedom of choice" plan. The court order came in the wake of a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

The plan, which became operative during the 1970-71 school year, remains in effect today. It contained fourteen points that were detailed in Chapter II; they are summarized below:

1. The district would operate 25 schools--two (2) high schools, six (6) junior highs, and sixteen (16) elementary.

2. Attendance zones would be established for each school.

3. Allowances were made for seniors to complete their schooling at the school they attended during 1969-70. Sophomore and juniors were not excepted.

4. Junior high students were assigned to schools within the attendance area of their legal residence.

5. Elementary students were assigned to schools within the attendance area of their legal residence.

6. Geographical areas established for 1970-71 resulted in racial mixture in each of the district's schools.

7. Majority students could opt to attend a school in which their race was in the minority.

8. Exceptional students of all kinds were assigned to facilities designed for them without regard to race.

9. The Superintendent maintained the right to change students' assignments in hardship cases.

10. The Board reserved the right to re-define attendance area and composition of school without affecting the unitary character of the school system.

11. Students legally residing outside the district were denied attendance with or without pay, 1970-71 seniors excepted.

12. Faculties were assigned to reflect the black/white ratio district-wide. . . Teachers and other professional personnel were not to be dismissed, demoted, retained or passed over for re-employment or promotion on the grounds of race, etc. . . .

13. All courses, facilities, programs and extra-curricular activities at any school were made equally available to all students in a given school.

14. The Board was to submit a report of the racial composition of faculty and students per school by October 15, 1970.

Not specified in these points, but still a part of the desegregation process, was the pairing of six elementary schools. Schools that were formerly organized in grades 1 through 6 were reorganized--two schools became occupied by grades 1 and 2 and paired with two that handled grades 3 through 6. One school was established for grades 1 through 3 and paired with one that housed grades 4 through 6.

As point six above summarizes, the district's plan resulted in racial mixture in each of the district's schools. However, as Table 2 showed, such mixture was not reflective of the black/white population in the community at large. The Board of Education rejected the notion of having each school's racial composition, as far as students were concerned, mirror the community's population. It was not unaware, however, that the fluctuation in enrollment and the loss of students did create an unstable situation in the district.

During the 1971-72 school year the Board, being concerned about the possible intervention of the courts, drafted a plan that would have distributed the diminishing white population more evenly in the schools. The plan called for tripling the number of students bussed, closing a predominantly black elementary school, converting one junior high to a vocational center, pairing of several elementary schools and sending one-sixth of all junior high students to distant schools. When it became apparent that the initiative taken by the Board was meeting sharp criticism, the Board retreated and continued to operate under the same plan ordered and approved in 1970. Table 18 shows the current enrollments by race and schools. It shows that black enrollment in regular classes rose 2 percent (from 68% to 70%) from 1972-73 to 1973-74. There was a corresponding drop of 2 percent in white enrollment. The fluctuation appears minimal here. However, when enrollment data from the first operating year of the plan is compared to to the current total enrollment, a different picture unfolds. In 1970-71, 59 percent of the district's students were black. In 1973-74, the number had increased to 70 percent.

Durham City School District--A Comparative Desegregation Study Site

Durham City School District was selected as a participant in this project because it was identified from source data as a district that developed and implemented a conflict-free and effective plan. The project's major purpose was to identify districts that had been effective and successful in their attempts at breaking the bonds of segregation and to describe the processes that led to effectiveness and/or success.

Seven criteria, and accompanying indicators, were used in measuring the degree to which a district was effective. Some of the criteria were minimally used in selecting districts. Most of the criteria were applied after selection. Durham City School District was matched against these criteria before and after selection to determine the effectiveness and the status of its plan, its programs and its practices and procedures. On the basis of observation and conversation, the following is an analysis of the match.

Criterion 1. Evidence that majority and minority students and staff are structurally integrated* into the social system of the school so both hold statuses and play roles that are equal in power

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*Structural Integration (definition used by the California State Department of Education). . .that situation in which staff members, children and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system that are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups.

TABLE 18

1973-74 Enrollment* Data by Schools

Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina

(Totals Inclusive of Only Black and White Students)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Black	
			No.	%	No.	%
Durham High	[illegible]-12	1247	559	45%	688	55%
Hillside High	10-12	1206	261	22%	945	78%
Brogden Junior	7-9	441	355	80%	86	20%
Carr Junior	7-9	320	124	39%	196	61%
Holton Junior	7-9	514	260	51%	254	49%
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	381	71	19%	310	81%
Shephard Junior	7-9	465	17	4%	448	96%
Whitted Junior	7-9	535	37	7%	498	93%
Burton Elementary	1-6	492	36	7%	456	93%
Club Boulevard Elementary	4-6	348	137	46%	189	54%
East End Elementary	1-3	291	108	37%	183	63%
Fayetteville Elementary	3-6	509	57	11%	452	89%
R. N. Harris Elementary	1-2	238	42	18%	196	82%
Holloway Elementary	1-6	351	162	46%	189	54%
Lakewood Elementary	1-2	196	35	18%	160	82%
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	174	31	19%	141	81%
Morehead Elementary	1-6	175	60	34%	115	66%
North Durham Elementary	1-6	185	56	30%	130	70%
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	433	9	2%	424	98%
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	285	205	72%	80	28%
Y. E. Smith Elementary	3-6	443	107	24%	336	76%
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	402	12	3%	390	97%
Walltown Elementary	1-6	187	88	52%	90	48%
George Watts Elementary	1-6	210	115	55%	95	45%
Cooperative		39	3	8%	36	70%
TOTALS		10,068	2,947	30%	7,087	70%

*Totals as of 10th Day of School for Regular Classes Only.
Kindergarten, Academically Talented, Educable and Trainable Classes Excluded.

and prestige.

Criterion 1. Indicators:

1. Composition of student body in each school--There is racial mixture in each school in the district. The School Board sought and got racial mixture rather than a racial proportion per school that reflected the racial makeup of the community-at-large. The decision resulted in six of the 25 schools having 90% or more black students enrolled. An additional five schools had black enrollments in excess of 80% and three in excess of 70%.

2. Ethnic composition of staff in schools--The black/white ratio of teachers in the district was 53% white and 47% black, for principals 48% white and 52% black. According to the district's plan, "Faculties. . .shall be assigned to the respective schools in the school system so that ratio of Negro and white faculty members assigned to each school shall be approximately the same as the ratio throughout the school system."

3. Distribution of majority/minority group students in each class--At the elementary level it was observed that heterogeneous grouping across classes was the general practice. Skill groups for subjects such as reading and math were used. There was one exception observed. One school practiced ability grouping across the school. The tendency was for a disproportionate number of blacks to be assigned to less able groups.

   At the junior high level, at least in the two schools visited, heterogeneous grouping seemed to prevail. Class composition in major classes was generally closely aligned with the racial composition of the school.

   No racial distribution data were available for the high schools visited. Interviews with professional staff revealed an ambivalence toward the matter in which students are distributed across subjects. Some felt there is "hidden ability grouping," some felt that student selection is the basis of whatever blacks are disproportionately represented in advanced type courses, and some felt that a tracking system is used but not according to race.

4. Discipline--Professional staff and students interviewed expressed that there is uniform administration of discipline.

5. Integration of minority groups into organizations and activities of school--The study did not yield conclusive da data on this point. In each of the secondary schools visited the white student was the minority as far as numbers were concerned. No data were provided on the extent of student participation in any activities at the high school level. As for the junior high schools visited, one had black/white participation in school athletics that closely resembled the racial makeup of the school. The other had all-black teams; however, the student body was 93% black (See Tables 8 and 9). As for participation in other clubs and organizations, the former junior high listed a 50/50 split for the student council and cheering squad, the only two organizations listed. The latter showed that there is white participation in four of the six organizations listed (See Table 10). Two of the four organizations have white representation that exceeds the white population in the school.

6. Patterns of student/student interaction--The picture varied. There seemed to be no evidence of racial tension, but there was neither solid evidence that students were not tacitly isolating themselves from one another. When or wherever statements were made that students interact well, the situation usually occurred during school hours; friendship patterns that extend beyond the environs of the school were very limited.

Criterion 2. Evidence that cultural/racial isolation has been reduced and is reduced and is reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and nonacademic activities.

Criterion 2. Indicators:

1. (In addition to all of the above indicators) A sense of fellowship and mutual respect, as demonstrated by staff and student planning exists--In fairness to teachers observed, observations were neither numerous enough nor long enough for firm conclusions to be drawn about student/teacher planning.

However, on the basis of the brief look-see observations that did take place, it appeared that planning was a function that had been retained by teachers. This was at least partially confirmed by four teachers, during interview sessions, who indicated that they map goals and strategies as well as decide content for their classes.

2. Evidence of avoidance of academic stereotyping--Though academic stereotyping did not appear to be running rampant, there was little clear evidence that orchestrated attempts were being or had been made to avoid such throughout the high schools in the district. This impression was based on observations and interviews. There seemed to be more of an awareness of the need for such avoidance at the junior high schools visited and each elementary school except one. It was difficult to ascertain the level of concern at the administrative level for this indicator across the district.

3. Evidence that teachers have the authority that enables them to work confidently and flexibly with students of varying abilities and talents--Teachers did appear to have the freedom to vary instruction and to do other things that would enable them to meet the different needs of students assigned to them.

Criterion 4. Evidence of curricular offerings and materials reflecting cultural diversity.

Criterion 4. Indicators:

1. Curriculum offerings related to minority experience or to majority/minority relations--There was evidence of some offerings related to minorities, e.g., black studies at the secondary levels, black authors in some literature classes, and multi-cultural and multi-level texts in some schools. Curriculum offerings and materials differed from school to school. Some teachers, when interviewed, indicated that their schools had insufficient or no materials. They expressed strong concern about this point. Several indicated that materials were on order.

2. Library volumes related to minority experience or by

minority authors--Volumetric figures were not collected from the libraries in schools visited. A perusal of three libraries, two in predominantly or all-white schools and one in a predominantly all-black school, revealed that there are minority-related resource materials available in each. Also, it was found that each subscribed to or had available such periodicals as Ebony, Negro History Bulletin and Black World.

3. Evidence of varied instructional techniques designed to meet the different learning styles of students--At the upper levels, e.g., grades 7-12, classes were taught in a traditional manner. The mode tended to be the teacher-dominated lecture. There were some instances of students being called on to read row by row and a few instances of silent reading. No unusual instructional techniques were in evidence. There were some instances of conventional, whole-class instructional methods being used at the elementary level. However, there was also more evidence of different grouping patterns, e.g., skill groups in reading and math and individualized instruction, being used at this level.

Criterion 5. Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

Criterion 5. Indicators:

1. Achievement data on students in school--No achievement data were collected by race across schools in the district.

Criterion 6. Evidence of comprehensive efforts to develop and offer programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

Criterion 6. Indicators:

1. Evidence of use of Title I, ESAP or other funds to develop compensatory programs--There was evidence that ESAP funds in the amount of $229,783 had been received by the district for "teacher preparation programs, student-to-student programs, curriculum revisions, special community programs and pupil personnel services. . . ." The team did not see written proposals or evaluations thereof, thus cannot cite the specifics of the programs.

2. Evidence of use of resources within and outside the school district to help devise programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity--There seemed to be evidence that resources at the central office were used to aid in setting up workshops that would help teachers better cope with the problems of desegregation. It was mentioned in one interview that a course had been set up through the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill on the desegregation process and made available for interested teachers.

3. Attempts at in-service training aimed at program development--ESAP funds were committed to the district for curriculum revisions and teacher preparation programs, among other things. There was no explanation of what revisions were made nor the amount of time spent in the preparation of teachers, the numbers of teachers involved, and so forth.

Criterion 7. Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

Criterion 5. Indicators:

1. Existence of a citizen's committee, or advisory committee, to assist with desegregation plans--There was no evidence that there had been involvement of citizens via advisory committees in the development of the plan. There appeared to be minimal involvement in the implementation process.

2. Evidence of bi-racial school committees--Such committees did not exist at the schools visited.

3. Evidence that parents and school community are kept informed about problems and successes in the integration process--The news media appeared to be the major source of information. It is used quite a bit to keep the public informed.

CHAPTER VII

"INTEGRATION" IN RETROSPECT

Some Concluding Observations

Jane Mercer, A sociologist at the University of Califronia at Riverside, California, uses in her studies of school district's desegregation a five-stage policy model designed to determine where on the segregation to integration a district falls. Since her model had implications for this paper it is briefly described below:

Stage 5 - Moving Toward Integration: Philosophic Stance--Equality of educational output, cultural pluralism.

Stage 4 - Comprehensive Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--Schools should have the same ethnic proportions as the district's population, students should have equality of educational opportunity--the latter defined in terms of input, same teachers, schools and texts.

Stage 3 - Token Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--District no longer denies responsibility to desegregate, it alters boundaries, builds new schools, moves toward open enrollment and uses as the underlying theme freedom of choice.

Stage 2 - DeFacto Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--The Board of Education does not have the responsibility to change a pattern that it did not cause. The main theme is the neighborhood school.

Stage 1 - DeJure Segregation: Philosophic Stance--It is not the legal responsibility of the Board to desegrate. The question is raised as to whether the responsibility belongs to the state or to the district.

Based on the data that were collected during the onsite visit and based on observations made and interviews held, it is the writer's opinion that the Durham City School District as a whole has moved from Stage 1 (in the late 1950's) to Stage 3 (in 1973). While it is true that the "freedom of choice" plan that existed from

1965-66 through 1969-70 was abandoned in favor of a plan that met the challenge and mandate of the court, the new or replacement plan resulted in more mixing, but in different proportions per school. The plan, which continues to govern the operations of schools in 1973-74, fell short of the "Comprehensive Desegregation" category by design, though aspects of this category might be found in some facets of the district's activities. While rejecting the notion of developing and implementing a plan that called for ethnic proportions in each school which resembled the population in the district as a whole, the Board approved and implemented one that left four of the district's 24 schools with black populations of 93 percent or better and one with a population of 84 percent. Because of the district's inability to revamp its plan to account for fluctuation in enrollment and the loss of students (due largely to "flight" into county schools and private academies) the situation has changed considerably. Six of the district's schools now have black populations of 90 percent or more and five additional schools have 80 percent or more.

When using the Mercer Model to explain or discuss the status of a district's desegregation plan one must refrain from assuming that all segments of the community are at the same point on the continuum. It is conceivable that the Board of Education and the district administration could be at a more advanced stage or level of understanding, operation and/or acceptance that parents, other persons in the community or even members of the professional staff in the district. This is often true because of obligations placed on boards of education and school administrations as legal entities to desegregate or otherwise rectify some ill that might heretofore have been perpetuated. One example of this difference was seen in 1971 when the Board, who were concerned about the possible intervention of the court because of the instability of its plan, drafted a new one that would distribute the white population more evenly in schools. The plan called for a tripling in number of students bussed, the closing of a predominantly black elementary school, converting of one junior high to a vocational center, pairing of several elementary schools and the sending of one-sixth of all junior high students to distant schools. Such a plan would have resembled the characteristics of Stage 4. However, the community sharply criticized the initiative of the Board. The Board withdrew consideration of the plan.

Final Remarks

The data in this report were gathered basically from structured and unstructured interviews and from formal and informal observations. In order to re-establish the chronology of desegregation-related events, the school files and the local newspaper were searched and copied, in part. Not much historical data were available from the central office files.

These data are by no means exhaustive. They were collected by a team of four persons who made a four-day onsite visit to the Durham City School District. Eight of the district's 25 schools were visited. Time and space constraints made it impossible to capture and record all of the significant events that were happening in every school visited, not to mention every school in the district. However, the team attempted to sort out the substance of all conversations observations and to summarize them correctly and objectively with the hopes that Durham's historical attempts at desegregating its schools might prove enlightening to others.

DESEGREGATION IN EWING TOWNSHIP, NEW JERSEY

A CASE STUDY

October, 1975

II-287

PREFACE

A word of special thanks and appreciation are due to school people at all levels, and to community people for the complete cooperation they gave during the four-day study of Ewing's attempts to racially balance its schools. A special tribute is paid to Dr. David J. Brittain, Superintendent, and his staff for making the study possible.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Ewing Township - History and Government[1]

On February 22, 1834 Ewing Township was formed by an Act of the New Jersey State Legislature. Named for the late Charles Ewing, a Chief Justice in New Jersey, the Township is believed to have been settled around 1700 by immigrants basically of English and Scottish ancestry. The Township was mainly a woodland area, prior to the American Revolution. However, post-Revolution activities included embarkation on a sustained period of agricultural growth. So productive was the agricultural activity that Ewing was labeled "the richest soil in New Jersey" during the mid-1800's.

Prior to 1930, Ewing's population increased slowly. Early development was characterized by the springing up of small villages throughout the Township. Its close proximity to Trenton served as an attraction to city residents who, while working in or about the city, wanted to escape the ills of the city by residing in the suburbs. This attraction led to Ewing becoming predominantly a community of home owners. The 1970 census listed its population at 32,831.

Not only has Ewing become attractive to home owners, it has been appealing to the State of New Jersey and to Mercer County, the county in which it is located. This is evidenced by the location of institutions that are owned and operated by the state and county in the Township.

Ewing Township is governed by a Township Committee of five persons. The Committee performs all the legislative functions set by the limits of State laws and delegated to the municipal government. Among the functions the Committee performs is that of adopting and supervising the administration of various commissions, boards and agencies within the Township, including the Board of Education.

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[1] Information in this section was taken primarily from the booklet Know Your Town which was prepared in the late 1960's by The League of Women Voters of Ewing Township.

Ewing Board of Education[2]

The first Ewing Board of Education was formed in mid-1894. It is an elected body consisting of nine members who serve without salary for a three-year term. The Board election is held during a non-partisan election in February at which time three candidates fill vacancies of members whose terms are expiring. Criteria for membership on the Board are (1) must be a citizen of the United States over 21 years of age; (2) must be a resident in the school district for a minimum of two years; (3) must be able to read and write; and (4) must have no interest directly or indirectly in any contract or claim against the Board. The 1973-74 membership on the Ewing Board consists of six males and three females. Two of the latter are black.

The Board of Education derives its authority from established state laws. It functions independently of the Township government and has the responsibility for establishing school policy, including the establishment of qualifications for staff positions; adhering to State minimum requirements; employment and discharge of personnel on the recommendation of the superintendent; establishment of a teacher salary guide and a wage scale for all other school personnel; development of the curricula to meet the needs of all students; approval of purchase of equipment and supplies; presentation of the annual budget to the voters for approval; and the presentation of referenda to voters on the question of additions to school buildings or other facilities.

The Board's organization includes a President, Vice President and Secretary, as well as the Superintendent. It is further subdivided into the following Standing Committees on which members serve: Buildings and Grounds; Education, Curriculum and School Policies; Finance, Budget and Insurance; Adult Education and Federal and State Programs; Personnel; Transportation; Business Practice and Student Services; and, Public Liaison and Publicity.

Newspapers and public meetings are the major public vehicles through which the Ewing Board of Education reports to the public. The agenda for each Board meeting is sent to the press in advance to inform the public. Internally, the Board, through the Superintendent's office, publishes periodically the "Ewing Township Board of Education News." This house organ is sent to every known resident in the Township.

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[2] Information in this section was gleaned from Know Ewing Schools, an undated booklet prepared by The Ewing Township League of Women Voters.

School Administration

The Ewing Public Schools are operated under the direction of a Superintendent who is charged with carrying out the policies established by the Board. He is assisted by two assistant superintendents and a staff of about fifteen other persons in the instructional and operational services.

Public School Facilities

The student enrollment in Ewing Township as of December, 1973 was 5,246. This student population is housed in ten schools--seven elementary (K-5), one middle school (6-7), one junior high (8-9) and one high school (10-12). Table 1 gives a breakdown of the grade-by-grade and school-by-school enrollment.

School District Prior to Desegregation

An editorial appearing in the April 27, 1971 issue of the Mercer Messenger Newspaper, in which the Ewing Reorganization was discussed, stated that as the district looked at itself in response to a New Jersey Department of Education's mandate to reorganize:

> "What they saw were illogical, gerrymandered school districts; racially lopsided schools, makeshift classes on auditorium stages and storage rooms, overcrowding at the junior high schools; expensive duplications at two junior high schools; and limited or inadequate library facilities at the elementary schools."

Organizationally, ten schools constituted the Ewing School District the year prior to desegregation, or to "The Reorganization Plan" as it is referred to in Ewing. There were seven elementary schools (K-6), two junior high schools (7-9) and one senior high school (10-12).

The school district's total pupil population in December, 1970, the year prior to desegregation (or reorganization as these terms will be used interchangeably) was 5,570. During the same month during the first year of reorganization there was a drop in enrollment of 39 students (less than 1%). The enrollment picture over the last five years, including the year of reorganization, was as follows:

TABLE 1

Enrollment--Ewing Township Public Schools
December, 1973

	Antheil Elem.	Fisher Elem.	Fisk Elem.	Lanning Elem.	Lore Elem.	Parkway Elem.	Reed Elem.	Antheil Middle	Fisher Jr.	Ewing High	TOTAL
Kdgn.	38	50		50	60	43	42				283
Gr. 1	44	37	38	66	64	56	51				356
Gr. 2	46	20	32	67	75	46	59				345
Gr. 3	35	41	39	57	61	51	57				341
Gr. 4	33	47	43	63	72	48	61				367
Gr. 5	38	36	47	62	65	63	71				382
Gr. 6								383			383
Gr. 7								416			416
Gr. 8									459		459
Gr. 9									452		452
Gr. 10										454	454
Gr. 11										453	453
Gr. 12										451	451
Sp. Ed.	11			19		28	17	12	12	5	104
TOTAL	245	231	199	384	397	335	358	811	923	1363	5,246

	Total Enrollment	Difference
December 31, 1969	5,773	
December 31, 1970	5,570	- 203
December 31, 1971*	5,531	- 39
January 31, 1972	5,507	- 24
December 31, 1972	5,443	- 64
January 31, 1973	5,431	- 12
December 31, 1973	5,246	- 185

*The year of "The Reorganization Plan" or desegregation.

The decrease in enrollment came as no surprise to school officials. As a part of preliminary studies, school officials studied the birth rate in the Township during the decade of the 60's and they studied available space in the Township for future development. The birth rate picture in the Township was:

Year	Births	Difference
1961	532	
1962	424	- 108
1963	288	- 36
1964	410	+ 22
1965	432	+ 22
1966	425	- 7
1967	394	- 31
1968	395	+ 1
1969	391	- 4
Total decrease since 1961		- 141

School officials concluded that school enrollments will not increase appreciably in the near future.

Racial Distributions of Students
Year Prior to Desegregation

The nonwhite population in the Ewing Schools before reorganization was 18%, plus or minus 2%. This reflects the white/nonwhite ratio that existed in the Township. The factor that led to Ewing being considered racially imbalanced, or to certain schools being labeled racially lopsided was the way the 18% were distributed in the schools.

Table 2 shows that the Lanning, Reed and Antheil Elementary Schools had a disproportionate number of nonwhite students when considering the percentage of these students in the district. Lore Elementary had no nonwhite pupils and Fisk Elementary had a minimal number. Only two of the elementary schools, Fisher and Parkway, had white/nonwhite racial distributions of students that reflected

TABLE 2

Non-White Enrollment and Percentages
One Year Prior to Reorganization
(December, 1970)

	Antheil Elem.	Fisher Elem.	Fisk Elem.	Lanning Elem.	Lore Elem.	Parkway Elem.	Reed Elem.	Anthiel Jr.	Fisher Jr.	Ewing High
Grades	K-6	K-6	1-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	K-6	6-9	6-9	10-12
Enrollment	630	451	182	337	395	384	388	690	940	1,373
Percentage White	75%	86%	93%	56%	100%	85%	72%	77%	85%	85%
Percentage Nonwhite	25%	14%	7%	44%	0%	15%	28%	23%	15%	15%

the ratio in the district. At the junior high school level, there was a slightly disproportionate number of nonwhite students at Antheil Junior High while Fisher was reflecting the district's white/nonwhite ratio. The problem at the junior high level was more one of "serious overcrowding" rather than racial imbalance (the capacity of each school was listed at 600 students, both exceeded that capacity. Regarding the senior high level, there was only one senior high school, thus all students were assigned there.

Racial Distribution of Full-Time Staff
Year Prior to Desegregation

Table 3 summarizes the racial composition of the full-time staff. It shows that of the 443 full-time staff hired in Ewing, 4.1% of it were nonwhite and 95.9% were white. Thirteen (4%) of the district's 248 teachers, and one (11%) of the district's counselors were black. Except for one nurse and three other persons in the janitors and engineers, maids and lunchroom workers' category, there were no other black staff in the district.

TABLE 3

Racial Composition of Full-Time Staff
Year Prior to Desegregation

Title(s)	Total	White		Nonwhite	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Superintendent	1	1	100%		
Assistant Superintendents	1	1	100%		
Other Central Office Staff (Excluding Clerical Staff)	4	4	100%		
Clerical Staff	34	34	100%		
Principals	10	10	100%		
Vice-Principals	4	4	100%		
Counselors	8	7	89%	1	11%
Librarians	7	7	100%		
Classroom Teachers	284	271	96%	13	4%
Nurses	7	6	86%	1	14%
Janitors, Engineers, Maids and Lunchroom Workers	83	80	96.4%	3	3.6%
TOTAL	443	425	95.9%	18	4.1%

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT DESEGREGATION PLAN

According to the Spring, 1971 issue of "Ewing Township Board of Education News," the official news organ of the Board of Education the Township reorganized its schools for three basic reasons: (1) to improve education; (2) to achieve better racial balance; and, (3) to eliminate overcrowding.

Improving the educational system was listed as the primary purpose for the school reorganization. The position taken by the Board was:

> "Education today is moving at a very rapid rate. Demands on curriculum to keep pace with colleges and industry are increasing daily. New innovative teaching methods and techniques are constantly being introduced. In order to keep our children competitive in the labor market, we must change to meet these demands. Our primary obligation is to provide the best education possible for our students at the lowest possible cost. We must change for today to provide for the future of tomorrow."

The second major purpose to be served by the reorganization was achieving racial balance. In November, 1969 the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity of the New Jersey Department of Education notified the Ewing Board of Education that its schools were racially imbalanced and, if not corrected, the district would lose approximately one million dollars in State and Federal funds. A similar notice was served on eighty-seven other districts in the state of New Jersey. Upon learning of the decree, the Board met with the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity (EEO) of New Jersey to learn what the specific charges were. In that meeting Ewing was alerted that according to the New Jersey Department of Education's desegregation guidelines the district had a shortage of black teachers and an imbalance of pupils in some elementary schools.

Easing the overcrowding at the secondary level was listed as the third objective. Overcrowding at the junior high school levels had set a three-year trend that promised to continue for at least four more years, if the current enrollment pattern held. According to school officials,

> "Conditions are so bad this year (1970) that we have been forced to hold three classes on the stage of the auditorium, conduct special reading classes in the stockrooms, rent three classrooms from a local church, and generally disrupt our normal educational procedures."

Developing the Plan

In December, 1969, shortly after the mandate by EEO, there was a racial disturbance that occurred during a play commemorating the birthday of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. The disturbance resulted in the closing of Ewing High School for two days. In recounting the event, William Cade, the Director of Public Relations for the district, suggested that:

> The closing of the high school motivated the Board to form a citizens advisory committee to look at overcrowding, racial imbalance and curriculum reform.

In January, 1970 a Citizens Advisory Committee, made up of 65 members, was named. Each civic, social and educational group in the Township was contacted by the President of the Board of Education, and asked to nominate one of its members to serve on the Committee. The President's letter to the organizations indicated that the Committee would:

1. Identify problem areas in racial relations.
2. Examine the racial imbalance existing in some of the schools.
3. Furnish the Board with data and recommendations on items 1 and 2.

When constituted, the Citizens Advisory Committee had broad representation from nearly all civic groups and social groups, teacher organizations and student groups.

The establishment of advisory groups was not new to Ewing. Two similar committees existed in 1957-58 and 1967-68. The 1970 Committee was formally charged with the responsibility to study the problems faced by the Board, specifically overcrowding at the secondary level, racial problems at the high school and the need to update the curriculum at all levels. In order to facilitate the management of the study, and to organize in a way that could lead to recommendations to the Board, the Committee subdivided into three groups: Curriculum; Students, Faculty and Administration Feelings; and Racial Imbalance.

Each subcommittee had begun its work by February, 1970. Each spent time researching ways of alleviating the problems that they perceived, or were told, that existed in Ewing schools. The Curriculum Subcommittee looked at how courses of study in the school district related to such variables as achieving racial balance in a conflict-free manner and resolving racial tensions. It concluded its work in September, 1970 and recommended an increase in library facilities and staff in the elementary schools; an expansion of black studies to all grade levels as part of established history and social studies programs; and an improvement in high school guidance for black students.

The Students, Faculty and Administrations Subcommittee studied the attitudes of students and teachers. In April, 1970 it administered questionnaires to 2,500 students at the high school and junior high levels. The questionnaires asked such questions as "Have the faculty and administration taken definite steps to ease the tensions at the school?" "What are your three chief gripes about your school?" "Do you think racial tensions in the school are caused by (1) pressures and attitudes within the school; (2) pressures and attitudes in the home and community; or (3) both?" "Should black history be taught in the school?" Student questionnaires were programmed and tabulated at the Trenton State College Computer Center, with the assistance of Educational Testing Service in organizing the data.

Questionnaires yielded such information as: (1) a majority of black and white students, 67% and 61% respectively, felt that no definite steps had been taken to ease racial tensions in schools; (2) blacks griped about a lack of black teachers, a lack of black-oriented courses, prejudiced school administration and teachers; whites expressed dissatisfaction about an apathetic school administration and student body, and a lack of freedom; both black and white felt that school personnel had no interest in them as individuals; (3) nearly 80% of blacks and whites in each school opted for black history as an integral part of other courses in history.

The third subcommittee, The Racial Imbalance Subcommittee, completed its work in July, 1970. It submitted six recommendations to the Board:

Recommendation 1: The Middle School Plan

> "In general, the Middle School Plan combines grades 4, 5 and 6 or 6 and 7, leaving K-4 in neighborhood schools. The idea behind this is that children in K-4 have more in common, and that older children benefit by an easier adjustment to high school...it would entail busing for older children only, leaving the younger ones close to home....

Recommendation 2: The Central School Plan

> "If the Middle School Plan is found to be totally acceptable, and realizing it as a

long-range plan, then the Central School idea would certainly be a stop-gap measure for possible early implementation of the State Department's mandate until actual building can be commenced....The Central School Plan provides for student socialization in the forms of actions, reactions and interactions so necessary for human relations and understanding...a consistently shared characteristic of the Central School Plan concept combines the best features of the self-contained idea of the elementary school with the best features of specialization of secondary schools."

Recommendation 3: Pairing of Schools

"This recommendation called for the pairing of six of the seven elementary schools (1) to equalize the racial balance in all schools; (2) to equalize the school population among the schools; (3) to equalize the classroom-student-teacher ratio; and (4) to allow creative and innovative programs to be instituted. The seventh school was recommended as an early childhood center for all kindergarten children."

Recommendation 4: Rerouting of Buses

"In order to achieve racial balance..[the] rerouting of buses and an exchange of students...would accomplish." A diagram was drawn showing how exchange would be accomplished. The cost of this recommendation was estimated to be $3,500."

Recommendation 5: Voluntary Transfer of Pupils

"This play will permit, upon request of the parents, the voluntary transfer of minority group children. These transfers would be from schools which are racially imbalanced. The Board of Education would reserve the right to assign the child to any of the schools that have less than the Township's percentage of racial makeup."

Recommendation 6: Step-wise Plan for Racial Balance

"A step-wise plan for achieving racial balance is proposed, with racial balance to be accomplished over a five-year period.

> It is recommended that steps be taken in the 1st, 3rd and 5th years of the Stepwise Plan, and that the 2nd and 4th years be used for evaluation and adoption of the plan based upon revised and more accurate goals."

Three of this subcommittee's recommendations were accepted initially by the Board, namely The Middle School Plan, The Central School Plan and Pairing of Schools. As reported in the November/December 1971 issue of School Board Notes, Cade indicated the relative advantage of the "middle school" and "central school" concepts for Ewing:

> "This plan appeared to combat both overcrowding and racial imbalance. By having all the children go to the same school, starting in grade 6 and ending in grade 12, the schools automatically become balanced within the context of the community."

The Reorganization Plan

The year immediately preceding reorganization Ewing contained seven elementary schools (K-6), two junior highs (7-9) and one senior high (10-12). The new reorganization also called for seven elementary schools but with grades K-5, a middle school with grades 6-7, a central junior high with grades 8-9, and a high school with grades 10-12. The advantages of the reorganization, as seen by school officials, and as printed in the Spring (1971) issue of "Ewing Township Board of Education News" for public consumption, has been included on a separate page of this report.

As was alluded to before, the Ewing Reorganization Plan was as much influenced by the computer as by the "middle school" and "central school" concepts. With the use of Title IV funds, as approved by the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity in Washington, the Ewing Board of Education contracted with the Illinois Institute of Technology of Chicago to assist in the redistricting efforts at the elementary level. The Institute was requested to design a plan that kept busing at a minimum and that allowed as many pupils as possible to walk to neighborhood schools. The Institute gridded the Township into 218 residential areas that were numbered and analyzed for school location, student population and racial makeup. Elementary principals provided necessary data on all students. As data were supplied, each principal who supplied it and each individual who received it and analyzed it knew that a racial balance standard of not less than 18% nonwhite enrollment and no more than 23% was to be established for each school.

Copied from Spring (1971) Issue of EWING TOWNSHIP BOARD OF EDUCATION NEWS

ADVANTAGES OF REORGANIZATION

Special Art Room 6&7

Special Music Room 6&7

Shop Facilities 6&7

Science Labs 6&7

[illegible] Services 6&7

There are numerous advantages educationally, economically, morally, and socially to our plan. We will attempt to highlight the most obvious ones.

1. Improvement of our educational programs

a. Student grouping 6-7, 8-9. If you will look at the new organiztion chart you will notice the improved continuity of grades 6-12. This means children of the same age grouping will be together eliminating the problems of age differences.

b. Administration and guidance - grades 6-7 and 8-9 will now have their own administration which provides for more unified curriculum and eliminates competition between schools as to quality and service. Also, we will now be able to provide guidance services to the 6th grades which is important today.

c. New programs - A host of new programs can be provided the 6th grades. For example,they will be exposed to home economics, shops, science labs, special art, music rooms and regulation gyms with showers. We are planning to offer personal typing, mechanical drawing, shop for girls and home economics for boys in grades 8-9. Additional programs may be introduced if space is available.

d. Better student relations - grades 6-9 — Through the grouping of grades 6-7 in the Middle School and 8-9 in the Junior High School we anticipate additional social advantages because of the similarity of age.

e. Intramural sports 6-7 — Establishing intramural sports in grades 6-7 should result in a stronger and more competitive sports program at the Junior High School. Our present situation hampers our program through the division of talent between our two Junior High Schools.

2. Eliminate overcrowding 7-9 — With the addition of five relocatable classrooms at Fisher Junior High School, we will be able to remove the three classes presently held on the stage of the auditorium, return the three classes at the church to our own school buildings and provide classroom space for our remedial reading groups which are currently being held in the stockrooms.

3. Better transition to high school from one base — There has been some difficulty at the High School providing continuity of subject matter because of the various backgrounds of students. Curriculum continuity will be strengthened by having the same curriculum exposure.

4. Three total Community Schools — The Middle, Junior and High School will now be total community schools. This means these three schools will belong to the whole community. In addition, racial balance will be achieved since all students in the community in those grade levels will attend one school rather than being separated around the community.

5. No major construction or permanent additions (most economical) — This plan is the most economical of all the plans submitted. The C.A.C.'s first recommendation was the construction of a new middle school, but the Board felt this was not economically feasible at this time. It was for this reason the existing buildings were used rather than new construction.

6. Better staff utilization

a. Teachers - By having all 5-7 and 8-9th grade teachers together in one building, we feel this would enable teachers to experiment with team teaching, special grouping, combining their own talents, etc. In addition, all teachers have been provided the opportunity to change schools based on their interest and certification.

b. Principals - Principals who have special interests in curriculum or methods will be provided the opportunity to work in those areas through this reorganization.

c. Inservice Training - New inservice training programs will be provided all teachers to improve on curriculum and teaching methods.

d. Team Teaching - Our reorganization plan will enable more experimentation with team teaching, individualized instruction, programmed materials and other new techniques in education today.

7. Retain Neighborhood Schools (request of C.A.C.) — Realizing it is important to the community to have students walk to school wherever possible, we have maintained the neighborhood school concept.

8. Effect Racial Balance Through Redistricting — With the implementation of the middle school our main concern for racial balance is in grades K-5. We are using the computer to assist us in redistricting our school system. This will be done by a company who has had experience with many other school systems with problems similar to ours. The Federal Government has agreed to fund the cost of this service.

9. Maintain State Federal Support ($1,000,000) — Ewing Township has been charged by the Commissioner of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity with racial imbalance in our school system and unless a reorganization plan is established and implemented by September, 1971, we will lose our financial support. This plan has been reviewed and approved by the Commissioner.

10. Centralization of Instructional Materials and Supplies — For example, there is an increasing demand for audio visual materials in education today. Presently, we must supply two separate junior high schools, often duplicating the same film libraries, filmstrips, equipment and materials. We will now be able to centralize our materials and realize a financial saving.

Table 4 compares the racial balance in Ewing Township schools before and after reorganization. The anticipated nonwhite enrollment in each elementary school (K-5) was between 18%-22%. At the middle school (6-7) and junior high (8-9) the anticipated nonwhite enrollment was 19%. It was 15% at the high school.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Racial Balance in Ewing Township (N.J.) Schools Before and After Reorganization

Before Reorganization
September, 1970
(Actual Enrollment)

Elem. Schools - (K-6)	% Nonwhite
Antheil	25%
Fisher	14%
Fisk	7%
Lanning	44%
Lore	0%
Parkway	15%
Reed	28%
Antheil Jr. High - (7-9)	23%
Fisher Jr. High - (7-9)	15%
Ewing High - (10-12)	15%
Nonwhite Enrollment (K-12)	18%

After Reorganization
September, 1971
(Anticipated Enrollment)

Elem. Schools - (K-5)	% Nonwhite
Antheil	18% - 22%
Fisher	18% - 22%
Fisk	18% - 22%
Lanning	18% - 22%
Lore	18% - 22%
Parkway	18% - 22%
Reed	18% - 22%
Antheil Middle School (6-7)	19%
Fisher Jr. High - (8-9)	19%
Ewing High - (10-12)	15%
Nonwhite Enrollment (K-12)	18%

CHAPTER III

PROCESS LEADING TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION

Shortly after the Ewing Board of Education received word from the New Jersey Office of Equal Educational Opportunity that the district was racially imbalanced, five representatives from the Board, including administrative staff, attended a two-day seminar on "The Development and Implementation of Plans for New Jersey Schools." This meeting occurred in December, 1969.

During the months following the meeting between representatives from New Jersey EEO offices and the Ewing Board, the latter initiated several activities aimed at correcting the imbalance of pupils in some elementary schools and correcting the ratio of black to white teachers in the district. One of the most prominent activities insofar as the Ewing Reorganization Plan (or desegregation plan) was concerned was the establishment of a Citizens' Advisory Committee. Some of the other related and key activities are reflected in the following timetable and target dates that were established by the Board and submitted to the Director of the New Jersey EEO offices:

1.	February 1, 1970	- School Board Statement of Policy on Desegregation
2.	March 16, 1970	- Progress Reports Submitted to Commissioner of Education
3.	July, 1970	- Progress Reports Submitted to Commissioner of Education
4.	July, 1970	- Citizens' Advisory Committee Report to Board of Education (Racial Imbalance Subcommittee).
5.	September, 1970	- Citizens' Advisory Committee Report to Board of Education (Curriculum and Students, Faculty and Administration Feelings Subcommittees).
6.	September 14, 1970	- Public Meeting to discuss Citizens' Advisory Committee recommendations.
7.	September, 1970	- Board of Education meeting to review public feelings and recommendations.
8.	Fall, 1970	- Staff In-Service Training (ten) sessions on "Current Problems of Society" under the direction of Dr. Anthony Campolo, Eastern Baptist College.

9. January, 1971 - Final decision by Board regarding racial imbalance.

10. Winter, 1970-71 - Staff In-Service Training. Series of sessions on "Actual Techniques of Implementing Full School Integration," "Improvement of Instruction" and "Improvement of Human Relations" by Dr. Dan Dodson of New York University.

11. September, 1971 - Implementation of plan to achieve improved racial balance.

Using the impetus gained from the Citizen's Advisory Committee's work and recommendations, the Ewing Board devised a multifaceted attack on the problems it was facing. The Board decided not only to racially balance each school, but to work toward improving curriculum and teaching, and to eliminate overcrowding at the junior high school level simultaneously. If these goals were to be realized, the Board had to gain public acceptance not only for the desegregation component of the plan but for a bond issue needed to finance building improvement plans.

Though it is not reflected in the previous timetable the Board worked between July, 1970 and April, 1971 at mounting a building program and at finalizing plans for a referendum. Plans were finalized in April, 1971 and the Board set a figure of $150,000 as the amount they would ask the public to approve in June, 1971. These funds were earmarked for relocatable classrooms for the central school (junior high) and for improved elementary school libraries. The Board decided it would be wise and preferable to keep the referendum apart from their responsibility to balance schools racially. Consequently, it was publicized that the plans for desegregation would proceed regardless of the outcome of the referendum.

Emphases during the interim between April and June were on selling the public on the advantages of approving the $150,000 referendum while concurrently informing them of the impending reorganization of schools. The 1971 Spring issue of "Ewing Township Board of Education News," the official school district newsletter distributed to each known citizen of the Township, was totally devoted to the whys of the reorganization and the referendum. The Greater Council of Churches participated in educating the public by sponsoring a thirty-minute discussion on the reorganization and referendum on WTTM, a local radio station. The local press gave the details of the reorganization and the referendum and gave editorial support to both.

Touted as the most effective means of communicating with the public were the "coffee klatches" held by each of the 65 members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee. Each member agreed to invite at least twenty parents to his/her home for a morning coffee session. Literature that had been prepared about the referendum was distributed and discussed. Attempts were made to get commitments from each attending parent to call at least five friends to explain the program.

In addition to using the Citizens' Advisory Committee and "coffee klatches" to communicate plans, the Ewing Board set up a "rumor phone" to quell rumors and to give parents facts. The idea of using the phone to disseminate factual information grew out of a recommendation by the Citizens' Advisory Committee that better communications were needed between the school system and parents.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES INCIDENT TO DESEGREGATION

Curriculum Modifications

As was alluded to earlier, "improving our educational system" was the primary reason for reorganization. To that end the Ewing Board of Education established a 65 member Citizens' Advisory Board to study problems related to, and to make recommendations for improvement in curriculum, racial balance and the attitudes of students, teachers and the administration toward each other and education in general.

The Curriculum Subcommittee of the Citizens' Advisory Committee was set up to study ways the curriculum in Ewing schools relates to achieving racial balance with a minimum of disruption to the student body and the community, and to resolving current racial tensions in the educational community. The subcommittee reviewed the present curriculum, identified possible problem areas and drafted recommendations to be submitted to the full Citizens' Advisory Committee. The recommendations[3] were:

1. It is recommended that the report of the 1967-1968 Citizens' Committee be more fully implemented with emphasis on the following areas....:

    a. Explore every avenue to reduce class size and provide increased facilities in the area of vocational training.

    b. Increase the library facilities and staff in the elementary schools.

    c. Expand the guidance coverage at the high school with emphasis on the needs of the black student and initiate programs to improve communication between the home and school with respect to guidance.

    d. Increase the staff in the elementary areas of art, music and physical education.

    e. Continue to explore the more nontraditional approaches to education with emphasis on enrichment experiences for all students.

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[3] Recommendations were copied from the September 16, 1970 report by the Citizens' Advisory Committee to the Board of Education.

f. Review the recruitment practices to ascertain if the staff turnover rate can be reduced.

2. It is recommended that steps be taken to develop better communication between schools with regard to curriculum and methods of teaching....

3. It is recommended that sufficient staff be provided to carry on in-depth analyses into curriculum content, methods of teaching and pilot studies so as to provide a sound basis for updating of present programs....

4. It is recommended that a prekindergarten program be seriously considered....

5. It is recommended that black studies be expanded to all grade levels as an integral part of established history and social studies programs rather than as separate courses.

Disposition of Recommendations

The three recommendations that were identified as most crucial by the Board were: (1) increase library facilities and staff in the elementary schools; (2) expand black studies to all levels as a part of established history and social studies programs; and, (3) to improve high school guidance for black students.

Concurrent with plans for reorganizing (and desegregating) schools in the district, the Board asked the public to approve a bond issue for $150,000. Fifty thousand dollars of this amount was designated for improving existing elementary libraries.

Black studies was incorporated into the regular social studies course material in both elementary and secondary schools in 1970. As for adding guidance counselors at the upper level with whom black students could relate, one black counselor was hired at the Ewing High School.

Other Changes

The Ewing Board of Education advertised as one advantage of the reorganization:

> "A host of new programs can be provided the 6th graders. For example, they will be exposed to home economics, shops, science labs, special art, music rooms and regulation gyms with showers...."

This advantage was realized because of the adoption of the middle school concept where students in grades six and seven were housed together. Sixth graders were then exposed to the kinds of activities formerly reserved for higher level students, i.e., interest groups running for three months each in such areas as survival techniques, newspaper staff, wrestling, cheerleading, golf, model building, needlepoint, knitting, macrame, shop, photography, drama, health careers, jewelry, geology, Broadway musicals and chess.

Except for the modifications mentioned above, there were no other identifiable curricular changes made that were incident to desegregation. This was borne out in the question, "Summarize changes in the school's curriculum that were made as a part of the desegregation process," that was asked of each of the seven principals interviewed, four at the elementary level and one each at the middle, junior high and senior high schools. Each principal suggested that no special programs or curriculum changes resulted from the reorganization or desegregation.

Administration and Faculty Ratios

Table 3 on page   summarizes the racial composition of full-time staff one year prior to desegregation. Table 5 compares full-time staff one year prior to reorganization with the current composition. The table shows a 7.4% increase in full-time positions (from 443 to 478 1/2). There was a corresponding increase of 1.7% in nonwhite staff (from 18 to 28).

The 1.7% nonwhite increase was accounted for by the addition of three nonwhite vice principals, one each at the middle, junior high and senior high schools; the addition of one nonwhite counselor at the senior high school; the addition of three classroom teachers; and the addition of one teacher aide and two positions in the janitors, etc. category.

In his August 25, 1970 Progress Report of School Desegregation Plans to the Director of the New Jersey EEO Office, the Ewing Superintendent indicated that:

> "Complete statistics regarding racial composition of pupils and staff were submitted to the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity in May, 1970. Since that report we have doubled the black composition of our teaching staff from ten to a total of twenty-one. This represents an increase of over 100%. We now have at least one black teacher in every school...."

As one looks at current figures for nonwhite classroom teachers on Table 5, one notes that there are fewer than twenty-one (21) full-time, nonwhite teachers as the Superintendent suggested in his report to the EEO Director. Also, as school visits were made, it was observed that not every school in the district has a nonwhite teacher on staff. When asked about the variation in current figures and

TABLE 5

A Comparison of Full-Time Staff
One Year Prior to Desegregation and Currently

Titles	Currently					One Year Prior to Desegregation				
	Total	White		Nonwhite		Total	White		Nonwhite	
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
Superintendent	1	1	100%			1	1	100%		
Assistant Superintendents	2	2	100%			1	1	100%		
Other Central Office Staff (Excluding Clerical Staff)	4	4	100%			4	4	100%		
Clerical Staff	40	40	100%			34	34	100%		
Principals	10	10	100%			10	10	100%		
Vice Principals	6	3	50%	3	50%	4	4	100%		
Counselors	10	8	80%	2	20%	8	7	89%	1	11%
Librarians	8	8	100%			7	7	100%		
Classroom Teachers	297	281	94.6%	16	5.4%	284	271	96%	13	4%
Nurses	8½	7½	88%	1	12%	7	6	86%	1	14%
Teacher Aids	6	5	80%	1	20%	-	-	-	-	-
Janitors, Engineers, Maids and Lunchroom Workers	86	81	94.2%	5	5.8%	83	80	96.4%	3	3.6%
TOTAL	478½	450	94.2%	28	5.8%	443	425	95.9%	18	4.1%

figures that appeared in the previously mentioned report, it was explained that it is often difficult to keep good blacks because they are attracted to and are attractive to graduate study and jobs with higher positions and better pay.

It was also explained that it is difficult to recruit black teachers to this surburban township. According to the Superintendent, during the 1969-70 and the 1970-71 school years the district sent black and white representatives to a number of colleges throughout the country, including predominantly black colleges, to recruit black teachers. The efforts met with minimal success. When discussing the recruiting efforts with one of the black vice principals who participated, it was confirmed that he had had negligible success in interesting prospective black teachers to come to Ewing.

Assignment of Students by Classes/Subject and Levels

Preparatory to the Ewing Township Reorganization the Ewing Board explained to the public by way of its official publication, "The Ewing Township Board of Education News" the following:

> "Many people who have attended the numerous meetings on the plan have asked, 'How will this achieve better racial balance, especially in grades K-5?' Well, a quick glance at our present school district lines resemble a jigsaw puzzle. It appears to be a classic example of gerrymandering and reflects the township's unusual growth pattern. In an attempt to racially balance our schools according to total minority representation, we are turning to the computer. This process will attempt to achieve balance, keeping children who live within walking distance at that school, keeping neighborhoods together at one school, keeping children in one family together in the same school, and minimizing the amount of busing.... Parents will be notified of each child's assignment before the close of school if everything goes according to plan."

Evidence of the effects of or appearance of gerrymandering was seen earlier in Table 2 which showed the disproportionate number of nonwhite students in some elementary schools when comparing the number with the percentage of such students in the district. It showed that only two of the district's seven elementary schools were racially balanced.

With the help of the Illinois Institute of Technology computer, the Ewing schools were able to effect a racial balance standard of no less than 18% nor more than 23% nonwhite enrollment per elementary school. Table 4 indicates the success that the district anticipated in meeting the standard. Once the standard had been met across the district's schools it then became a matter of how each school would assign students to classes and subjects and how teachers would group them for instruction. The emphasis shifted from the central administration to the schools.

In an attempt to determine how students are assigned to classes and levels within subjects, the Desegregation Study Team made casual observations of several classrooms at each school level, interviewed students, teachers and counselors, and asked each principal in the seven schools visited to describe the method used in his/her school in assigning students. Additionally, the principal at Ewing High School was requested to provide information on the racial distribution of students by subjects and levels of difficulty in academic courses.

At the elementary level, every principal except one indicated that students were assigned strictly heterogeneously. When assigning students to classes across the school such variables as race, sex and personality of student and teacher were taken into account. In the one exception, the principal indicated that she uses both heterogeneous and homogeneous means of assigning students. She has set up two combination classes, one with grades 2-3, and one with grades 4-5. In each combination class are found the accelerated students at each of the grade levels involved. The remainder of this school is heterogeneously assigned with "straight" kindergarten through sixth grades, plus one special education class.

Table 6 shows the racial distribution of classrooms observed by team members while in Ewing schools. It should be noted that the "Total No. Students" was obtained by a casual count by the observing team member. It does not take into account the number of students enrolled, the number of students who might have been absent from school or out of the classroom during the observation. It should also be noted that classes listed at the elementary level were not all at the same school and that the same levels were not visited at each school.

Table 6 indicates that classes visited at the various elementary schools had a nonwhite population ranging from 11% to 27%. Except for the 2/3 combination class with "accelerated students" in one school and a "regular" second grade in another school, the classes were within 18% to 23% racial standard set by the district.

The 18% to 23% standard was employed decreasingly as one observed classes above the elementary school level. At the middle school level it was explained that the classes are heterogeneously assigned, but that there is ability grouping in mathematics. The middle school facilitates the concept of departmentalization. The latter makes ability grouping easy to accomplish, but the school chose to homogeneously assign students only in mathematics.

At the junior high school level, grade 8, students are basically assigned by the principal and counselor. Sixteen students in grade 8

TABLE 6
Racial Distribution of Classrooms
Observed in Ewing Township Schools

Grade Level/Subject	Total No. Students	No. White Students	Percent White Students	No. Black Students	Percent Blac Students
Elementary Level					
Grade 5 (Sec.St.)	20	16	80%	4	20%
Grade 2	22	16	73%	6	27%
Grade 1	19	16	84%	3	16%
Special Ed	9	7	78%	2	22%
Grade 2/3 Combination	18	16	89%	2	11%
Grade 3	21	17	81%	4	19%
Grade 4	23	19	83%	3	17%
Middle School Level					
Grade 7 (English)	21	16	76%	5	24%
Grade 6 (English)	20	14	70%	4	20%(10%other
Junior High Level					
Social Studies - Top 8	29	29	93%	2	7%
English - Slow 8	26	23	88%	3	12%
English - Average 9	17	14	82%	3	18%
Algebra I - 9	17	11	65%	6	35%
High School Level					
History - Below Average	17	13	76%	4	24%
Adjusted History (Slow)	8	5	63%	3	37%
Algebra II - Seniors	18	18	100%	0	0%
General Science	19	12	63%	7	37%
Chemistry	18	16	89%	2	11%
Biology	28	25	89%	3	11%
Mathematics - Pilot Algebra & Geometry	13	7	54%	6	46%
English - Average 12	24	19	79%	5	21%
English - Top 12	20	20	100%	00	0%
Gym - Female	18	14	78%	4	22%
Modern Dance - Female	37	33	89%	4	11%
Volley Ball - Male	14	10	71%	4	29%
Volley Ball - Male	11	11	100%	0	0%
Health	25	25	100%	0	0%
Metal Shop	8	8	100%	0	0%
Wood Shop	16	14	88%	2	12%

(15 white and 1 black) were asked on a student interview to respond to, among other things, "How was the program you are now enrolled in selected?" Possible choices were:

a. my own choice
b. advised by my counselor
c. suggested by parents
d. assigned to me

Thirteen (13) students answered. Eleven (11) or 85% selected answer "d," indicating that their programs were assigned. Two (2) or 15% answered that their programs were suggested by their parents.

In still another attempt to get students' perceptions of the way they are assigned to classes, group sessions were held with ten (10) white students and ten (10) black students. These students were asked how they get their class schedule. Their consensus answer to the query was:

> "They place us at whatever level they think we are at when we leave elementary school."

The black students added the comment:

> "In most cases they feel we are below grade level."

When asked, "Do you have anything to say about what courses you would like to take?" the consensus answer was:

> "It's up to you to go to your guidance counselor to change any of your subjects."

Prior to a student entering the 9th grade, the Guidance Department at Fisher Junior High School requests that each eighth-grade teacher of mathematics, science, social studies and English assign his/her students a number which represents the class level in which he/she feels the students should be placed. The procedure is more adequately described in the March 7, 1972 memorandum from the Fisher Junior High School Guidance Department that has been attached.

Students are given an opportunity to select courses (see the Ninth Grade Subjects Elections form that is attached). When there appear to be discrepancies between a teacher's perception of a student's ability to handle a course selected and the student's desire to enroll, the matter is resolved with the help of the guidance counselor.

A sample of fifteen (15) students in grade 9, (11 whites and 4 blacks), was asked to also respond to the same question asked of 8th graders, namely, "How was the program you are enrolled in selected?" Unlike the 8th graders where 85% concluded that their programs were assigned, 80% of the 9th graders answering (9 white and 3 black)

FISHER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

March 7, 1972

To: All 8th Grade Math, Science, Social Studies and English Teachers

From: Guidance Department

Re: Student Placement for School Year 1972-73

Please list alphabetically the students in each of your 8th grade classes. According to the instructions for each department, please assign each student the number which represents the class level in which you feel he should be placed next year.

Math
1 — Recommended for Algebra
2 — Recommended for Algebra I - Part I
3 — Recommended for General Math

Science and Social Studies
1 — Superior
2 — Above Average
3 — Average
4 — Below Average
5 — Very Slow

(Social Studies - Any student rated 4 or 5 will be considered not recommended for Non-Western Cultures or Problems of Modern Man)

English
1 — Above Average
2 — Average
3 — Below Average
4 — Practical English

Please fill out the attached sheet in pencil and return to Mrs. Bozarth by March 13 (Monday).

NAME________________________________ Boy Girl Homeroom__________
(circle)

NINTH GRADE SUBJECT ELECTIONS

Place a check next to the course you plan to take next year. You must take English and Physical Education. In addition, you may choose three or four other majors. You may also choose a minor if you desire. (Majors meet five times a week, minors meet twice.) All students must carry at least twenty-three credits.

Students choosing general science choose two of three half year electives. Please underline the two electives you choose.

Course Title	Credits		Periods Per Wk.	Course Title	Credits		Periods Per Wk.
*English I	5	--	5	*French I	5	___	5
Practical English	5	___	5	*French II	5	___	5
*General Science	5	___	5	*Latin I	5	___	5
Chemistry				Business Training	5	___	5
Geology				Business Math	5	___	5
Human Physiology				Personal Use Typing	5	___	5
*Problems of Modern Man	5	___	5	Mechanical Drawing	5	___	5
*Ancient World Cultures	5	___	5	Industrial Arts Major	5	___	5
*Problems of Modern Man/ Ancient Wld Cultures	5		[illegible]	Home Ec Major	5	___	5
				Art Major	5	___	5
Contemporary Affairs	5	___	[illegible]	Music Major	5	___	5
*Algebra I, Part I	5	___	5	Industrial Arts Minor	2	___	2
*Algebra I	5	___	5	Home Ec Minor	2	___	2
*Geometry	5	___	5	Art Minor	2	___	2
General Math	5	___	5	Music Minor	2	___	2
*Spanish I	5	___	5	Home Ec (Boys) Minor-	2	___	2
*Spanish II	5	___	5	Ind. Arts (Girls) Minor	2	___	2
				Phys. Ed.	1	___	3

*College Credit

Latin II

	Subjects	Period	Room	M T W R F
	English			
	Physical Education			
	Lunch			
	Study			
	Study			
	Study			
	Band		5	
	Orchestra		4	
	Choir		5	
	Choir		4	

indicated that they chose their own. One student (7%) answered that the program was selected with the advice of the counselor, and two students (1 white and 1 black), or 13%, said their programs were suggested by their parents.

During the interview with the principal and vice principals at Ewing High School it was reported that the practice followed regarding placement in courses is that of self-selection. It was explained that guidance counselors are at the disposal of students who need assistance in selecting courses.

Inasmuch as the guidance counselor was identified as one having a role to play in assignments to courses at the wishes of the students, each of the three counselors in the high school, one black and two white, was asked to respond to the question, "How are student programs of study determined (ability, interests, etc.)?" Responses to the question were:

1. "Teachers decide what level classes students will have. Assignments to classes are generally based on teacher recommendations."
2. "Students choose their own classes based on their goals."
3. "Students are assigned to one of five groups - Superior, Above Average, Average, Below Average, Garbage."

There was less than total agreement on whether subjects/classes are really assigned or whether they are selected by the student. As was done with 8th and 9th graders, the matter of program determination was taken to the students for their reaction. Forty-seven (47) 10th grade students in two study halls were asked to respond to the question, "How was the program you are enrolled in selected?" The same question was asked of thirty (30) 11th graders and forty-eight (48) students in grade 12. Their reponses by grade and race were as follows:

Choice	Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12	
	(N=47:	35W-12B)	(N=30:	20W-10B)	(N=48:	37W-11B)
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
a. my own choice	21-45%	9-19%	11-37%	9-30%	30-63%	8-17%
b. advised to by my counselor	11-23%	3-6%	4-13%	0-0%	4-8%	2-4%
c. suggested by my parents	3-6%	0-0%	1-3%	0-0%	0-0%	1-2%
d. assigned to me	0-0%	0-0%	0-0%	1-3%	0-0%	0-0%
e. other	0-0%	0-0%	0-0%	0-0%	2-4%	0-0%

The larger percentage of students in each grade in the high school expressed on the student interview form that their programs are self-selected. In every case the majority of students who indicated that they did not choose their own program suggested that the programs were set with the advice of the counselor.

Grouping Patterns Within and Across Classes

The previous section and this one are so closely related that one could have logically considered the two together to reduce the overlap. However, it was felt to be legitimate to discuss grouping patterns separately because in varying situations classroom assignments across schools can differ markedly from grouping patterns used by individual teachers.

As was mentioned in the preceding section the principals in each of the schools visited were requested to provide information on their methods of assigning students across grades/classes in their schools. At the elementary school level the practice was to heterogeneously group students, taking into account race, sex and personality of students and teachers. The one exception found was at Lanning Elementary School which used both heterogeneous grouping, and homogeneous grouping, the latter in the form of a Grade 2-3 and Grade 4-5 combination class into which "advanced" students at these levels were placed.

Table 2 shows that in 1970, the year prior to Reorganization, Lanning school had the highest nonwhite population of any school in the district, 44%. When the boundaries were redrawn it picked up white students from a residential area where the mean income level of students' parents is estimated now to be $15,000 - $24,000, the mean housing value $40,000 - $45,000, the education level of the head of the household equals two years of college plus, and the occupations represented were professionals, salaried managerials and government workers. According to two of the white parents whose children went to Lanning school under the Reorganization Plan the combination classes made the transfer more palatable because it was felt that such class arrangements would not stifle their children's learning, or interfere with the kinds of experiences children were having at their former school.

After classes were assigned by the principal, the trend at the elementary level was toward teachers' grouping for skills. In nearly every case, except in Special Education where a great deal of individualized instruction was the mode, students were regrouped for mathematics and reading, sometimes spelling. The tendency, as mentioned by principals and teachers who were interviewed, was toward white students occupying the top levels in class and blacks filling the average and below average levels.

The middle school assigns students heterogeneously generally. However, ability grouping is used in mathematics throughout the school. Few other data were otherwise collected to substantiate the way students are placed at the middle school level.

At the junior high school where departmentalization takes on more prominence, the principal and counselor almost exclusively assigned 8th grade students to classes. Though the principal and counselor played a major role in the placement of 9th grade students in classes, students at this level were given more choice in selecting the kind of courses and course emphasis they wanted. Homogeneous grouping, a la labels such as "Superior," "Above Average," "Average," "Below Average," "Slow, and others, was the general practice. Through limited observation and conversation at the 8th and 9th grade levels it was noted that there is a seemingly disproportionate number of nonwhite students in the "Below Average" and "Slow" classes.

At the senior high school there is a dichotomy according to students' abilities in the academic areas. Student selection of courses is governed in large measure by their probability of success as measured by their performance in previous teachers' classes. Table 7 shows the racial distribution of students in Ewing High School in English and Social Studies classes. In English 12, Superior, white students make up 92% of the class, nonwhite only 8%. The same is true in Above Average classes in English 12 (86% white - 14% nonwhite), American Studies 12 (91% white - 9% nonwhite), U. S. History I, 11 (87% white - 13% nonwhite), and Social Psychology 11 and 12 (92% white - 8% nonwhite). The converse is true at the other end of the scale. Nonwhites, in this case all blacks, make up 37% of the slow Average class of English 10, and 40% of the Adjusted class in American Studies 12.

Again in Table 8 it is noted that white students occupy a disproportionate percentage of spots in the advanced courses in Science and Mathematics at Ewing High School. In Physics 12, Superior, 94% of the students are white, in the Physics 12, Harvard Project, 91% are white. Similar percentages for whites are found in Biology 10, Above Average, 90%; Chemistry 11, Above Average, 94%; Algebra II, 11, Above Average, 94%; and Sr. Academic Mathematics, Superior, 94%. There is a higher concentration of black students in the Average category, for example, Algebra I, 10, 64%; Biology 10, 45%.

When guidance counselors at the high school were asked to account for the reason(s) disproportionate numbers of blacks students were found in the more advanced courses they responded:

1. "Teachers recommend students to these courses. The only way blacks get into top classes is to be arbitrarily assigned by the counselor for racial representation. Sometimes this backfires."

2. "Students are grouped by ability by their teachers."

TABLE 7

Racial Distribution of Students by Subjects and Level of Difficulty in English and Social Studies Ewing High School

Class	Class Grade	Level of Difficulty	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
English	12	superior	25	23	92%	2	8%
English	12	average	23	15	65%	8	35%
English	11	average	27	18	67%	9	33%
English	10	slow-average	19	12	63%	7	37%
English	10	average	22	14	64%	8	36%
English	12	above average	28	24	86%	4	14%
Amer. Studies	12	above average	23	21	91%	2	9%
Amer. Studies	12	adjusted	10	6	60%	4	40%
U.S. Hist. I	11	above average	24	21	87%	3	13%
U.S. Hist. I	11	average	26	19	73%	7	27%
Soc. Psych.	11 & 12	above average	25	23	92%	2	8%
Soc. Psych.	11 & 12	average	16	9	56%	7	44%
Economics	11 & 12	average	23	19	83%	4	17%

TABLE 8

Racial Distribution of Students by Subjects and Level of Difficulty in English and Social Studies Ewing High School

Class	Class Grade	Level of Difficulty	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
Biology	10	above average	30	27	90%	3	10%
Biology	10	average	22	12	55%	10	45%
Chemistry	11	above average	17	16	94%	1	6%
Chemistry	11	average	18	14	78%	4	22%
Physics	12	PSSC-superior	18	17	94%	1	6%
Physics	12	Harvard Proj.av.	23	21	91%	2	9%
Algebra I	10	average	22	8	36%	14	64%
Algebra II	11	above average	17	16	94%	1	6%
Algebra II	11	average	21	17	81%	4	19%
Geometry	10	above average	25	22	88%	3	12%
Geometry	10	average	29	24	83%	5	17%
Sr.Acad.Math	12	superior	16	15	94%	1	6%
Sr.Acad.Math	12	humanities	17	15	88%	2	12%

3. "Distributive Education or work study courses such as Home Economics and Business are elected more by blacks than are these kinds of courses."

The previously mentioned racial distribution tables were replicated for languages and Business at Ewing High School. Table 9 shows that the disparity between whites and blacks in the Superior classes remains. In Spanish IV, 12, the white-black ratio is 86% - 14%, in Latin III & IV, 11 and 12, the ratio is 90% - 10%. The trend then begins to change with more blacks being found in the Above Average and Average to Above categories, for example Shorthand II, 11, Above Average, 75% white - 25% blacks, Secretarial and Clerical Office Practice 12, Above Average (78% white - 22% black). Blacks continue to be disproportionately represented in the Average category.

Extracurricular Activities

At the junior high and senior high school levels the Desegregation Study Team focused on the participatory patterns of students in the extracurricular activities of the school. As a prelude to the focus each principal was asked if any extracurricular activities were curtailed or stopped completely as a result of the desegregation plan. The answer was "No." At the high school level the plan was seen as a reorganization plan which affected the elementary and junior high levels, not the former. The junior high's extracurricular program was only affected to the extent that it had to expand to accommodate students from a previous junior high which was being discontinued. The discontinuation was all a part of the district's moving toward a "central school" concept which resulted in all students of junior high age being housed at one site.

In order to get a reading on the number and kinds of extracurricular activities that were found in each of the schools at the upper levels, the principals of the junior high and senior high schools were requested to complete two forms - one entitled "School Athletic Teams" on which they were to record the major athletic teams the school sponsors, with the race of the teams' student leaders specified; and the other entitled "Schools, Clubs and Other Extra-Curricular Activities (exclusive of Varsity Athletics)," on which major clubs and organizations, and the racial makeup of their student participants, were highlighted.

School Athletics - Fisher Junior High School

Table 10 shows the participatory patterns of students in school athletics at Fisher Junior High School. It shows that there is black participation in each, though minimal in several, except in Cross Country where there is no participation. Black students are attracted to the more "conventional" sports and are highly represented in them,

TABLE 9

Racial Distribution of Students by Subjects and Level of Difficulty in Languages and Business
Ewing High School

Class	Class Grade	Level of Difficulty	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
Spanish I	10	average	30	22	73%	8	27%
Spanish II	10	average	16	8	50%	8	50%
Spanish III	11	average	28	18	64%	10	36%
Spanish IV	12	superior	14	12	86%	2	14%
French I	10	average	20	17	85%	3	15%
French II	11	average	22	19	86%	3	14%
Lating III & IV	11 & 12	superior	10	9	90%	1	10%
Shorthand I	10	average to above	28	24	86%	4	14%
Shorthand II	11	above average	20	15	75%	5	25%
Bookkeeping I	10 & 11	average to above	23	16	70%	7	30%
Bookkeeping II	11	above average	24	21	87%	3	13%
Consumer Econ.	11 & 12	average	30	18	60%	12	40%
Sec. & Cler. Office Practice	12	above average	27	21	78%	[illegible]	22%

TABLE 10

School Athletic Teams
Fisher Junior High School

Team	Total Number of Team Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Team		
						Captain	Co-Captain	2nd Co-Captain
Football	34	20	59%	14	41%	black	white	white
9th Gr. Soccer	21	19	94%	2	6%	white	white	white
8th Gr. Soccer	22	20	91%	2	9%	black		
Baseball	18	16	89%	2	11%	white	white	white
Boys Basketball	12	6	50%	6	50%	white	white	black
Girls Hockey	23	22	96%	1	4%	white	white	white
Girls Basketball	23	13	57%	10	43%	white	black	white
Wrestling	27	24	89%	3	11%	white	white	white
Cross Country	16	16	100%	0	0%	white	white	white
Track	54	47	87%	7	13%	black	white	white

for example, Football, 59% white - 41% black; Boys Basketball, 50% white - 50% black; and Girls Basketball, 57% white - 43% black. There is modest participation of blacks in Track and less interest in other events as evidenced by the lack of participation. The leadership pattern is interesting. The Football team with 41% black participation has a black captain. However, the 8th Grade Soccer team with 9% black and the Track Team with 13% black both have black captains. The converse is true in Boys and Girls Basketball where there is a large percentage of black participation. The student leadership is white.

One of the questions asked of teachers at the junior high level was, "What does the school do to encourage black students to participate in school activities?" Teachers (three of them) answered that they knew of nothing special that was being done.

School Athletics - Ewing High School

Ewing High School sponsors twelve athletic teams, or squads. Table 11 shows the amount of total team participation and a racial breakdown per team, with race of each team's leadership identified. As was true at the junior level, black student participation was concentrated primarily in the "conventional" or "more traditional" sports, such as Boys Basketball (38%), Girls Basketball (44%), Cheerleaders (32%), and Softball (50%). One team that is not otherwise considered "traditional" had a high percentage of black participation, namely, Wrestling (35%). Football with 20% black participation, Baseball (18%) and Track with 19% are traditional sports that have student populations that are reflective of the schools' nonwhite population. There has been little interest shown by blacks for Soccer and Hockey and none shown in Cross-Country and Bowling.

School Clubs and Organizations
(Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams)

As with school athletic teams there was neither a curtailment nor a proliferation of school clubs and organizations incident to the desegregation plan at the junior high and senior high levels. The earlier context of this report conveyed the presence of interest groups at the middle school. These might appropriately be referred to as school clubs so should be dealt with herein.

School Clubs and Organizations - Antheil Middle School

The writer had an opportunity to attend a public meeting of the Ewing Board of Education during which time a teacher and student from Antheil Middle School explained the Interest Group program. During each of the three lunch periods daily the students

TABLE 11

School Athletic Teams
Ewing High School

Team	Total Number of Team Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Team		
						Captain	Co-Captain	2nd Co-Captain
Football	71	57	80%	14	20%		B,W,B	
Soccer	37	35	94%	2	6%		B,W,W	
Cross-Country	15	15	100%	0	0%	W		
Girls' Field Hockey	37	34	92%	3	8%	W		
Boys' Basketball	24	15	62%	9	38%	B		
Girls' Basketball	16	9	56%	7	44%	W	B	
Wrestling	34	22	65%	12	35%		B,W	
Cheerleaders	22	15	68%	7	32%		W,W	
Bowling	9	9	100%	0	0%	?		
Baseball	28	23	82%	5	18%		B,W	
Track	68	55	81%	13	19%		B,W	
Softball	18	9	50%	9	50%	?		

at Antheil have the option of participating in one of twenty-five (25) clubs that are offered per day. Students may participate in a maximum of four clubs per year as each is run for approximately two months. The offering includes a Cooking Club, Cartoon Club, Jewelry Making Club, Model Building Club, Sports Club and others. The Study Team did not observe these clubs in action but was told that there is "good" participation on the part of all students in the school, black and white alike. The purpose of this activity is to help students develop interests in and try activities they might otherwise have little contact with.

School Clubs and Organizations - Fisher Junior High School

Table 12 lists the major clubs and organizations at Fisher Junior High School. It shows that there are two organizations in which black students hold a majority, namely the Spanish Club, 60%, and the Canteen Council with 80% On the other hand, there are three organizations in which there are all white students, for example the Booster Club, Science Club and Newspaper Club. Except for Girls Gymnastics (93% white), there is participation of black and white students in other activities.

School Clubs and Organizations - Ewing High School

The major clubs and organizations, their membership in terms of numbers and their racial makeup, are shown in Table 13. It shows that only one organization in the school has representation from one race, that organization being Highlights (the school newspaper) that has 100% white membership. This is not to imply that there is equal representation on others. The 3rd World Club is 94% black while the following are overwhelmingly white: International Relations (90%), Frescoes (literary magazine) 95%, Yearbook (94%) and the Guidance Club (94%). The Student Council, Varsity E Club and Health Careers Club have a substantial black participatory rate with 33%, 35% and 33% respectively. It is interesting to note that each of these clubs has black students in leadership positions, for example the President and Vice President of the Student Council are black; the Vice President of the Varsity Club is black; and, the Secretary of the Health Careers Club is black. The membership in the Library Council, Gymnastics Club and, to a lesser degree, the Drama Club more nearly reflects the black/white population ratio that exists at the school with 20%, 19% and 14% respectively.

Social and Friendship Patterns of Faculty, Staff and Students

During each interview with principals and teachers the interviewer was asked to share his/her perceptions of the social patterns, if any, that have or are emerging as a result of the racial

TABLE 12

School Clubs, Organizations and
Extra-Curricular Activities
(Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams)
Fisher Junior High School

Organization, Club or Activity	Total Number of Members	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks	Race of Leadership Per Organization		
						President	Vice President	Secretary
Spanish Club	5	2	40%	3	60%			
Library Assts.	28	21	75%	7	25%			
Boys Intramurals	38	23	61%	15	39%	white	black	black
Cheerleaders	12	9	75%	3	25%	white	white	
Booster Club	6	6	100%	0	0%			
Science Club	11	11	100%	0	0%			
Student Council	37	26	70%	11	30%	white	white	white
Newspaper Club	13	13	100%	0	0%	white	white	
Canteen Council	10	2	20%	8	80%	black	white	
AVA	11	8	73%	3	27%			
Girls Gymnastics	30	28	93%	2	7%	black	white	

TABLE 13

School Clubs, Organizations and Other Extra-Curricular Activities (Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams) Ewing High School

Organization, Club or Activity	Total Number of Members	Number of Whites	Percent of Blacks	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks	Race of Leadership Per Organization		
						President	Vice President	Secretary
Student Council	60	40	67%	20	33%	B	B	W
Library Council	46	37	80%	9	20%	W	B	B
Varsity E Club	23	15	65%	8	35%	W	B	W
Health Careers	12	8	67%	4	33%	W	W	B
Drama Club	7	6	86%	1	14%	W	W	B
Gymnastics Club	57	46	81%	11	19%	W	B	W
3rd World	16	1	6%	15	94%	B	B	B
International Relations	20	18	90%	2	10%	W	W	W
Frescos (literary magazine)	20	19	95%	1	5%	W	W	W
Highlights (school newspaper)	20	20	100%	0	0%	W	W	
Yearbook	16	15	94%	1	6%	W	W	
Guidance Club	32	30	94%	2	6%	no leaders		

balancing in each school. Parents who were interviewed were also asked to comment.

Student Interaction

The Interview Team was particularly interested in determining the interactional patterns in the elementary schools that had minimal or no nonwhite students before the Reorganization Plan. When the principals at the two elementary schools that fit into this category were asked "To what extent do students group themselves in the following: 1) Before/after school, 2) Lunchrooms, 3) Assemblies, 4) Classrooms, and 5) School events?" they responded:

> "The students are relating more and more since the first year."

and

> "I am noticing a number of students walking before and after school together. All black students are bussed in so if they are to miss that bus because they are going home with a classmate, the parent must send a note. More and more of this is happening. I've noticed that students don't hesitate to touch, hold hands, embrace. The first year was good, the second year better, but the third year the best."

The principal at the middle school reported that the interaction between black and white students was "good" in lunchrooms and in such places as hallways, library and the like. As far as classrooms, assemblies and similar school events are concerned, the chances for interaction are decreased because students are assigned seats. In this case, as in most cases at the elementary level, the fact that a large percentage of the student body is bussed in was cited as a natural deterrent to establishment of friendships that extend beyond the bounds of one's immediate neighborhood.

The administrative staffs at the junior and senior high school reacted differently to the question on student interaction. The tone of their responses was that "students gravitate toward friends, black with black and white with white." The consensus of the staff members was that though exceptions can be found and perhaps increasingly so, there is not a lot of interaction between the races at these levels.

A total of eighteen teachers throughout the district was asked to also respond to the question "To what extent do students groups themselves...?" One-third of the teachers did not respond to the item. Others who did answer varied greatly in their answers. For example, at the elementary there were those who indicated that there was no interaction before or after school because of bussing and those who indicated that interaction is limited because students are assigned seats in classrooms, assemblies, etc. Others said that students are allowed to seat themselves by friendship groups and that this practice is spreading. At the middle school the prevailing answer regarding before/after school and lunchroom interaction was, "They are usually in their own little groups with their friends..." As for assemblies, "(They) mixed, because they are seated according to the way they are in classes"; classrooms - "Left up to the teacher (some) to use alphabetical arrangement because it's convenient"; and, school events - "They mix very well for after school and school social functions."

Teacher opinions at the junior high and senior high levels were basically the same as expressed by their administrators. They made such statements as:

1. "Black students are clannish and exclude whites from their groups."
2. "Self-grouping is normal."
3. "Blacks and whites separate by their normal groups."

In a group session with seven parents in the Ewing district, comprised of two black males, four black females and one white female, the parents were asked, "How do your children interact with children of different races? Do they have friends of different races outside the school?" The answer that seemed to bring about consensus was given by one black female:

> "Our children have lots of friends. They come here to to play. Our children are invited to their houses to play. They go swimming together..."

These parents explained that at the elementary level friendship patterns are developed, interactions are numerous, but as students grow older, they get pressured from others in their age and racial group to identify more closely with "their own" group. These parents also recognized that a similar kind of pressure is exerted by the home.

In summary, principal, teachers and parents indicated that students at the elementary level do interact rather freely. The former reported that more and more interracial friendship patterns are emerging as time advances in schools that formerly had little or no minority students. Development of social and friendship patterns is somewhat deterred by the existence of bussing. Friendship patterns at the junior high and senior high differ markedly from those in earlier grades. The general trend is that "students gravitate toward friends, black with black and white with white." The parents who were interviewed confirmed the existence of tendencies toward isolation with students at the upper levels and cited as reasons peer pressure and parental pressure.

Staff Interaction

Interviews with principals and teachers revealed that for the most part relationships that exist between faculty and staff are limited to in-school hours and activities. No principal indicated that there existed anything but "good" interaction between teachers during these hours and activities. As far as after school relationships, the friendship pattern of teachers tended to resemble that of students at the upper levels; that is, teachers tend to gravitate toward friends. Apparently those friends are of like race.

As a corollary to the query on student and teacher interactional tendencies, those teachers and principals who were interviewed were asked to identify any activities or strategies their school has developed to foster intergroup associations. Of the eighteen teachers who were asked, seven had no answer; seven indicated "Nothing" as an answer, and the others answered respectively: "Treat all kids the same"; "Use class assignments and games"; "Open all organizations to all students"; and, "Not much."

Equality of Student Discipline

Inasmuch as the matter of student treatment beyond classroom assignment is a matter of considerable importance and sensitivity in school districts that have desegregated, the Desegregation Study Team sought impressions from principals, counselors, teachers and students alike on this issue. The purpose of the numerous inquiries was to determine whether or not discipline was dispensed equally or whether or not some patterns of differentiated disciplining could be detected.

Principals were asked to complete a section on a School Information form entitled Expulsions, Suspensions and Discipline. In the section each principal was asked to estimate the number and percent of expulsions, by racial groups over the last twelve months, to give the major reasons for expulsions and to identify the proportion of suspensions and other discipline cases that were attributable to majority and minority group students. At the elementary and middle school levels there were no expulsions or suspensions reported. The same was true at the junior and senior high levels as far as expulsions were concerned. However, the junior high school reported that an estimated 266 students were suspended over the last twelve months. Of this number 183 (68%) were white and 83 (32%) were black. The senior high school estimated that 567 students were suspended over the same period, 406 (72%) white and 161 (28%) black.

Schools in the Ewing district, especially from the middle school upward, tend to pay special attention to clearly defining their discipline policies. The middle school, junior high and senior high schools had printed Discipline Guides that are given to each student enrolled. Attempts are made to explain the guidelines to students in homerooms and assemblies. There is consistency in the types of actions taken across schools because the guidelines used by each school and penalties assessed per offense are known to the Board of Education which has a policy of its own that sets up the major categories.

Teachers on Discipline

Teachers were asked to comment on whether or not they think black students offer more discipline problems than white. Of the eighteen who were queried six (6) had no answer, ten (10) said "No" and two (2), one white and one black, indicated yes. The black teacher who suggested that black students offer more of a discipline problem explained that these students are "very assertive and noisy...school does not view it as a problem, they cut lines, use abusive language...school won't deal with it." The white teacher offered no explanation.

The teachers were also asked if black students are treated preferentially, more severely or in any way differently from whites as far as discipline is concerned. Again seven (7) had no response, ten (10) indicated no and the one black teacher suggested yes, giving as the reason the same statement as above.

Counselors on Discipline

Two of the three counselors interviewed expressed that black students present no more discipline problems than whites. One white counselor suggested that blacks are more of a problem at the senior high level. The reasons given were "teachers tolerate less from them...teachers don't like or understand their dialect." Neither of the three counselors suggested that there is preferential or different treatment given to blacks.

Students on Discipline

Questions that pertain to disciplinary procedures were addressed to three groups of students at the senior high school. Most of the students interviewed expressed that discipline is administered equally to all students, as is reflected in dialogue with each group that follows. However, there were opposing points of view. They, too, are recorded.

Group A - Ten Black Students at Ewing High

Interviewer - How do you feel about the disciplinary procedures here, are you treated in the same manner as the white students?

Student - I think it is equal (answer given by individual but agreed to by others).

Group B - Ten White Students at Ewing High (High Achievers)

Interviewer - What is the thing you least like about the school?

Student - It's a personality thing, with the teachers and some of the kids that seem to get away with things that others get punished for.

Interviewer - Is it the blacks or the whites that get away with it?

Student - No, I think it is a matter of academics.

Interviewer - Do you think the teacher is avoiding confrontation with the nonacademic types?

Student - Yes, because I think some of the teachers are afraid of some of the students (the student later identified nonacademic types as blacks).

Group C - Ten White Students at Ewing High (Low Achievers)

Interviewer - What about the rules of the school?

Student - There aren't any, nobody follows them.

Interviewer - Is there anyone to enforce them?

Student - No. Sometimes the principal tries but he is like a little kid.

Interviewer - Are there more black kids that have rules enforced than white kids?

Student - They are treated exactly the same.

Special Funded Programs

Special funds were secured by the Ewing Board for two aspects of the desegregation plan. First of all, the Board sought and received a total of $8,000 under Title IV from the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity in Washington to defray expenses incurred while computerizing the district. Ewing was the first district in the state to attempt to use the computer to help bring about racial balance.

The second instance of special funding came by way of a $100,000 grant, also under Title IV, that was used primarily for an inservice training program for teachers. The program provided money for teachers to attend workshops and conferences for self-improvement during the summer and regular school year. Workshops dealt with such topics as integrating New Jersey and black history, locating media resources for Afro-American studies, developing a reading curriculum for ungraded schools and other topics that were more directly oriented toward human relations.

One extension of the in-service training program was a "home visitation" program which saw teachers and school nurses go out in pairs to homes of prospective kindergartners.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS TOWARD PLAN, PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

The previous chapter dealt with programs and practices incident to desegregation, primarily as reported by the district administration with some injection of impressions, opinions and the like from faculty, staff and some of the schools, and some infusion of parental opinions. Chapter V is also concerned with program and practices, but with a greater emphasis on the perceptions, attitudes and characteristics of faculty, staff, and students, other than principals and other administrators, and on parents, noting more specifically the amount of knowledge and the kinds of sensitivities they had toward the Reorganization Plan and the way it was implemented.

The Plan

Perceptions of New Jersey Office of Equal Educational Opportunity

In November, 1969 the New Jersey EEO notified the Ewing Board that it had a shortage of black teachers and that a pupil imbalance existed in some elementary schools. These conditions were further discussed in December, 1969 in a meeting involving the Board and EEO. In an attempt to determine how the Board responded to these charges, a conversation was held with Mrs. Nida Thomas, the Director of the N. J. EEO Office. During the conversation it was learned that Ewing was one of about eighty-eight districts in the state that were imbalanced in one or more ways. The district, through its Superintendent and Board of Education, is said to have responded positively to righting the imbalanced situation.

In the "Guidelines for Developing Equal Educational Opportunity," issued by the New Jersey EEO Office, it was stated:

> "Educational considerations are primary in eliminating school segregation. The elimination of racial imbalance is not to be sought as an end in itself... as a first step the local Board and its administrative staff, working together, should formulate a policy which states explicitly the educational considerations involved in their commitment to elimination of racially imbalanced schools."

By late January, 1970 the Ewing Board had submitted to the Commissioner of Education a policy statement on integration.

The EEO Office also mentioned in the Guidelines things that segregated schools must do in developing their plans; for example: "involve community in its development and in plans for its implementation; identify and consider alternative courses leading to solutions"; "project the racial composition of each elementary and secondary school attendance area and the racial composition of its staff"; "assess and draw on all resources--educational, financial and community--that can be brought to bear in the solution of the problem"; "select location of proposed school building sites and utilize existing buildings so that each school will represent as nearly as possible a cross-section of the population of the entire district"; "prepare a timetable indicating target dates for the completion of each phase, immediate and long range"; and "reassess plans and projections annually." Again, from the conversation with Mrs. Thomas it was learned that Ewing was very responsive to these Guidelines, as evidenced by their submission of an acceptable plan.

Teachers' Perceptions

Eighteen (18) teachers throughout the schools visited by the Study Team were interviewed during the time of the Ewing Study, eight (8) at the elementary level, three (3) at the middle school level, two (2) at the junior high school level and five (5) at the senior high school level. In each interview a series of questions was asked for the purpose of tapping the amount of knowledge each had about the plan that was developed. The questions and the responses thereto are listed below:

1. Are you familiar with the Integration Plan?

   a. yes 3

   b. no 0

   c. vaguely 10

   Five chose not to answer this question.

2. How did you become familiar with the integregation plan? What was the extent of articulation by school officials?

   No answer given - 4

   From the principal - 4

   Superintendent's discussion - 2

   Read in newspaper or general notice - 1

   Member of Citizens Advisory Committee - 1

   Heard from other teachers - 1

Not much articulation - 3

No articulation at high school - 1

Not employed during time - 1

3. How did school district officials prepare faculty and staff for integration as outlined by the plan?

No answer - 3

No preparation - 5

Not employed at time - 1

Volunteer In-service Workshop and/or special meeting - 2

Only worked with affected teachers - 1

Not much preparation - 3

Through teacher representatives on Citizens Advisory Group - 2

High School not affected - 1

4. How was the faculty and staff involved in planning for integration as reflected in the plan?

Teachers had nothing to do with plan - 10

Few teachers were on Citizens Advisory Group - 4

Don't remember - 2

No answer - 1

Not employed during time - 1

5. What were the major concerns of faculty and staff over the integration plan?

No answer - 2

No major concern - 9

Which teachers would be moved - 1

High school not affected - 1

Not employed during time - 1

Faculty not informed early enough - 1

Concern about handling all junior high students on one campus - 1

Workability of plan, parents' reaction how to handle students, fear of student reaction, bussing, difference in levels or ability (response from teacher at formerly all-white elementary school) - 1

6. How did the district respond to those concerns?

No answer - 14

Not employed during time - 1

Teachers affected by move given three (3) choices of schools - 1

Establishment of Citizens Advisory Committee - 1

No response - Superintendent was not in touch with faculty - 1

7. What were the major concerns of parents and the community over the plan?

No answer - 5

None - 1

Don't know - 5

Spillover from Trenton into Ewing - 1

Bussing - 4

Lack of understanding of plan - 1

Not employed during time - 1

8. How did district officials respond to those concerns?

No answer - 13

Nothing - 1

Don't know - 1

Principal rode buses one week - 1

Bussed students not usually bussed--handled each complaint made - 1

Not employed during time - 1

9. What is being done now on an on-going basis to improve the integration efforts?

No answer - 5

Nothing - 11

Don't know - 1

On-going workshops on Human Relations - 1

10. What communications or directions have you received from the central office to guide you in effecting integration?

No answer - 4

None - 12

Don't know - 1

Monthly newsletter - 1

11. What communications or direction have you received from your principal to guide you in effecting integration?

No answer - 5

None - 11

Don't know - 1

No stress on racial lines - 1

Counselor's Perceptions

Four counselors, three at the senior high level and one at the junior high level were also asked the eleven questions previously listed for teachers. For example, two answered that they were familiar with the district's plan; two indicated that they were vaguely aware of it. Most felt removed from the plan because the high school was not directly affected. Even the junior high counselor indicated that he learned about the plan by reading the paper. In terms of preparation of faculty and staff for the plan, again the high school was unaffected, but the junior high counselor recalled a faculty meeting with the principal about ways to facilitate change. There were no major concerns of counselors expressed about the plan.

Parents' and Community Persons' Perceptions

Individual and group interviews were held with a total of fourteen parents and community persons for the purpose of soliciting their opinions, concerns and their knowledge of the desegregation process. The group interviewed was composed of seven parents--six black (two males and four females), and one white female. They were representative of each level of education provided by the district, kindergarten through twelve. Below is listed some of the dialogue that resulted from the session.

1. Can you describe what kinds of involvment you had in the desegregation plan? How did your local school or how did the district involve you in the plan? Were you involved at all?

Answer - "I really don't know how to explain it because we weren't really in direct contact," seemed to collectively sum up the groups' answer to these questions. The group spent a good bit of time recollecting what actually happened. They had a vague knowledge of the establishment of the middle school, how the middle school affected all elementary schools, that an advisory committee was established, that the predominantly black Reed Elementary School, the predominantly white Fisk Elementary and the all white Lore Elementary were desegregated by a computer outfit from Illinois."

2. Were you informed about this before it happened?

Answer - "Yes, by going to Board meetings.... We had an opportunity to refuse the plan."

3. What would have happened if you had refused the plan? What kinds of provisions were they willing to make?

Answer - Summed up by the statement "I don't know; I wasn't faced with that."

4. Do you know of many parents who did refuse the plan?

Answer - "Some from Brandon Avenue did refuse. Brandon was a dividing point between Lanning and Fisher. The Board gave parents a choice of either of the schools. The Board worked with the parents in this regard."

5. Are you suggesting that the Board of Education, at least in that regard, was a rather accommodating one?

Answer - "Oh, yes!"

6. What were or are two main issues that still surround the whole topic of desegregation?

Answer - "The only thing I can think of... in Fisher Elementary they don't have one black teacher. That is the only outstanding thing that I see about the whole thing."

7. Do you think this is a problem in the school district generally?

Answer - "Yes," unanimously.

8. Has anyone voiced this concern to the administration in any way?

Not answered.

9. Why do you think this problem of lack of hiring black staff exists?

Answer - Group wasn't sure. They speculated that young teachers don't want to be subjected to the pressures that would be exerted on them in a situation where they are in the minority. They mentioned that few black student teachers are even "allowed" to practice teach in the district.

10. Do you think there is a pressure situation for a new teacher?

Answer - "Yes." The group explained that a more experienced teacher could cope. They recounted that one black aide was pressured to discipline black students who were on the playground area. Teachers thought this to be her job; she felt it to be everyone's job. The aide didn't stay a year.

11. Do you think skeptical feelings about hiring blacks come down from the top level?

Answer - "I think there has been a great change... since Dr. Brittain came, positive change. From what I can gather he is fair.... He was instrumental in getting as many black teachers at Ewing High School as they have....There is room for a lot more. Some improvement should start at the administrative level because this is an influential position for black students, a position of power. A lot of times black teachers can't help a student in a crisis whereas maybe a black principal, or a black vice principal can lend him a sympathetic ear... would like to see the departments in the high school get some black department heads. I wouldn't want to see anyone purged just to open up for blacks, but if a position opens up and one is qualified, I would like to see him fill it, and hopefully change some of the attitudes of the teachers. You can desegregate physically but what about the attitudes of the teachers..."

Of the other parents interviewed individually, five indicated that they were not involved but they know of the existence of the Citizens' Advisory Group, and also of a community club for blacks that was involved by way of representation thereon. These parents suggested that desegregation per se has always existed in the schools in which their students are enrolled. They had no qualms about the plan and were not familiar with main issues because they were relatively unaffected. While three parents did have students going to what would now be the only junior high school in the district, they saw no problems with this since room existed for them and they (the parents) felt that the previous level of learning would be maintained.

Only three of the parents and/or community persons interviewed had been directly involved in the development of the plan. Two of the three parents used their expertise in data processing to monitor the work of the Illinois Institute of Technology computer firm as it engaged in the redistricting exercise. The other was involved, "even prior to the time the plan was asked for," by participating as an Advisory Committee member. These persons collectively identified as main issues of problems that emerged during segregation as: 1) bussing "screw-ups" and 2) space needed to achieve the "80% to 20% standard." The district's response to the issues came by way of purchasing portable rooms to satisfy space needs and providing extra bussing for some children who would ordinarily walk.

How the Plan Is Working

Teachers, counselors and parents were asked to share their opinions on the success the district has had with the plan as implemented. The question posed to each group was, "In general, how successful would you say the integregation efforts have been in your school?" Responses per group were:

Counselors

1. "Very successful."
2. "Okay."
3. "It's hard to say. We have become more aware of color than before."
4. "Leadership positions have opened up; there have been no curriculum changes; attitudes have changed but gut reactions have not."

Teachers

Teachers were a bit more unified in their responses to the question. Of the eighteen teachers interviewed, six (6) did not answer the question. The remaining twelve answered thusly:

Very well 4

Great	1
Fine	1
Good	2
OK	2

Two other teachers indicated that they don't think of the plan as one for integregation, rather one of reorganization.

Key Factors in Success of Plan

Those counselors and teachers who indicated that the plan was working well were asked to list factors that led to success. Counselors listed such factors as:

1. Preparation by summer workshop; attitude of principal; attitude of staff; cooperation and hard work of main office; efforts to recruit black teachers.
2. Good foundation laid; contact and communication with public good; nobody hassled or inconvenienced.

Only seven teachers chose to respond to this question. They listed the following as key factors:

1. Small school, close faculty, good parental attitudes.
2. Excellent principal, community cooperation.
3. No inconvenience to anyone, bussing already in effect.
4. Physical layout made implementation easier.
5. School was already integrated.
6. Ewing was desegregated in the right way, credit to the Superintendent.

Improving the Plan

After having thought through their knowledge of involvement in and feeling for the plan, teachers and parents were then asked to recommend any changes they would make if the integration process were to be done again. Of the eighteen (18) teachers, there were five (5) who did not respond. Three (3) expressed that nothing could be done to improve the plan. Others responded thusly:

1. Need good community relations program and discussion; blacks need more black history materials.

2. Do a better job of educating for desegregation with everyone, and wider discussion of plan.

3. Need more black teachers; more Superintendent involvement with teachers--communicate from bottom up instead of reverse.

4. More materials, more planning time; improve parents' attitudes about bussing; more multilevel and multicultural materials.

5. Establish student faction; listen to students.

When the question was asked in the group interview with parents they offered two ways of improving the plan:

1. "There is a need for more black administrators, teachers, counselors and aides..."

2. "Find some way to emphasize a change in attitudes among the majority of teachers..." (The parents had reference to changing the white teachers' attitudes toward blacks.) Parents expressed that too many white teachers stereotype blacks as being "deprived." These parents didn't want to be so categorized.

Social and Friendship Patterns

In the preceding chapter some attention was given to perceptions of principals, teachers and parents as they related to the social and friendship patterns of students as the desegregation plan was implemented. This section presents, in most cases verbatim responses that were made by students in group interviews as they were asked a series of questions bearing on the subject of student interaction. Note that the responses came exclusively from the junior high and senior high students. No elementary or middle school students were interviewed.

Group A - Five 8th and 9th Grade Black Students at Fisher Junior High School.

Interviewer - Why is it that in the cafeteria the whites and blacks don't eat together?

Student - Because they are afraid to sit with each other.

Interviewer - Is there a time when you would like to sit with someone white?

Student - In some cases, but usually you eat with your closest friends.

Interviewer - Is there any problem with interaction on various teams?

Student - To some extent.

Interviewer - What about the orchestra?

Student - We are doing better this year than we did last year.

Interviewer - What could the school do to bring about a closer relationship between blacks and whites?

Student - Through the teams. They could possibly increase extracurricular activities and create a human relations group.

Group B - Five 8th and 9th Grade White Students at Fisher Junior High School.

Interviewer - How do you feel about black and white interaction with activities?

Students - (There were no objections or reservations expressed; however, there was acknowledgement that they segregate themselves while in various situations such as at athletic events and at lunch.)

Interviewer - What about after school?

Student - We each go our own way. They are afraid of being put down by their friends and vice versa.

Group C - Ten Black Students at Ewing High.

Interviewer - Is there very much interaction with the white students?

Student - Most of the time we all hang in our own groups. The only interaction is between black fellows and the white girls. But the black fellows don't approve of the black girls dating white boys.

Interviewer - Why is it that the white boys don't go with the black girls?

Student - Because the white boys are afraid of the black boys.

Interviewer - What about the white boys, how do they feel about the black fellows going with the white girls?

Student - It's nothing they can do about it.

Interviewer - I hear you mention the slang "Toms," what type of kid is this? Do you find that they are the ones that are in the high achievement classes?

Student - Not really.

Interviewer - Do they come from professional backgrounds?

Student - No, not always.

Interviewer - Is it just an individual kind of thing, no real definite characteristics?

Student - It's just that they seem to hang with the whites and copy their style.

Group D - Ten White Students at Ewing High (High Achievers)

Interviewer - Is there any interaction between blacks and whites in your school?

Student - In sports.

Interviewer - On any other social level?

Student - A few, basically stemming from sports.

Interviewer - What about girls?

Student - Yes, in their sports activities they seem to have more interaction.

Interviewer - Do any of you get together for any other type of activities?

Student - It's pretty much just in the sports. There is no tension between the races though. When we go to the drive-in or other outside activities, we never think to call on black kids.

Interviewer - Has any of you tried to cross these lines?

Student - There are a few people that do, but I don't think there is any pressure from the white kids that they know of...

Group E - Ten White Students at Ewing High (Low Achievers)

Interviewer - What about the black kids in school, do you get a chance to cross paths in terms of being friends?

Student - Yes, we party with them all the time.

Interviewer - Do you see them outside the school?

Student - Yes.

Interviewer - Have there been any recent incidents of racial tension?

Student - No, but last year we had a walkout because of the play. About four years ago they had a real riot and we won.

Attitude Toward School and Teachers

In the group interview sessions at the junior high and senior high, students were asked several questions that had bearing on the way they perceived various aspects of their school's program. Some of those perceptions are captured in the dialogue recorded below. Group A refers to the 8th and 9th grade students at Fisher Junior High School; Group B--8th and 9th grade white students at Fisher Junior High School; Group C--ten black students at Ewing High School; Group D--ten white students at Ewing High School (high achievers); Group E--ten white students at Ewing High School (low achievers).

Interviewer - How do you feel about your school?

Group A - I really think it stinks. The teachers are not interested in the students. They only listen to one side of the story... (the group discussed incidents that had taken place in classrooms to verify the student's feelings).

Group B - It's a good school. It needs improvement (the president of the student council stated that they were trying to form a human relations council to help with racial problems). The problems last year over a school play caused quite a bit of trouble. The group discussed the fights and the walkouts that occurred. They stated that most of them had just gone along with the crowds. They stated that if the student leaders, black and white, could get together, they would solve a lot of the misconceptions.

Group C - The gym classes are nice, some of the English courses and sports are okay. The student council is very frustrating. (For the most part they get along with white students, but sometimes while joking around they get serious and then there may be problems.)

Group D - It's about average; that is, its academic standing and the building itself.

Group E - It's all right, it's clean and the teachers are nice in comparison to Trenton High.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers?

Group A - (Only one of these students had a black teacher. They expressed that white teachers treat them differently than they do white students.)

Group B - Some are all right. Some are two-faced.

Group C - We would like to have more black teachers, but there are too many white students to have a lot of black teachers.

Group D - A teacher is a teacher. (Students in this group had never encountered a black teacher.)

Group E - They treat us all the same. (One student in this group had had a first-grade black teacher but none in other grades.)

Additional perceptions and characteristics were gleaned from responses that 156 students in grades 8-12 made to questions that appeared on a Student Interview Form which was randomly administered to individuals in study halls during the time the Study Team was making its on site visit. Students were asked, "Do you think that most of your teachers are interested in you and really want to help you become successful in school?" Their grade-by-grade and race-by-race responses were as follows:

	Choice	
	Yes	No
	No. %	No. %
Grade 8 (N=14)		
13 W	10 - 71%	3 - 21%
1 B	1 - 7%	0 - 0%
Grade 9 (N=15)		
11 W	8 - 53%	3 - 20%
4 B	3 - 20%	1 - 7%
Grade 10 (N=44)		
35 W	25 - 57%	10 - 23%
9 B	8 - 18%	1 - 2%
Grade 11 (N=28)		
15 W	11 - 39%	4 - 14%
13 B	8 - 29%	5 - 18%
Grade 12 (N=46)		
30 W	24 - 52%	6 - 13%
16 B	11 - 24%	5 - 11%

The percentages used are based on the total number of all students responding. Thus, when "Yes" responses for whites and those of blacks in each grade are combined, the majority of students answered the question in the affirmative. (For example, in grade 8 the total response was 78% "Yes.") If one chose to look at the percent of "Yes" or "No" responses only in relation to the number answering by race, the majority of students by race also express the opinion that teachers are interested in them, although the range varies. For example, 13 blacks in grade 11 responded to the item. Eight (8) or 62% responded affirmatively, 38% negatively. Compare this to 68% of all students responding "Yes" and 32% responding "No."

In order to determine how students feel about their school's ability to respond to their academic and personal problems, students were asked to respond, on the same interview form, to the question, "Is there a teacher or staff member you can go to when you want to talk about some problem (school or personal) that bothers you?" Their responses to this question were as follows:

	Choice	
	Yes	No
	No. %	No. %
Grade 8 (N=14)		
13 W	9 - 64%	4 - 29%
1 B	1 - 7%	0 - 0%
Grade 9 (N=16)		
12 W	10 - 63%	2 - 13%
4 B	3 - 19%	1 - 6%
Grade 10 (N=44)		
32 W	16 - 36%	16 - 36%
12 B	5 - 11%	7 - 16%
Grade 11 (N=29)		
19 W	14 - 48%	5 - 17%
10 B	6 - 21%	4 - 14%
Grade 12 (N=47)		
36 W	19 - 40%	17 - 36%
11 B	4 - 9%	7 - 15%

Responses on this item were more erratic than those on the previous item. In grades 8 and 9, the majority of students answered in the affirmative regardless of the way percentages are calculated. However, in grade 10 only 47% of students responded "Yes," if black-white responses are combined. Looked at in terms of percentages of "Yes" and "No" for white, and likewise for black, whites responded 50% "Yes" and 50% "No." Blacks responded 42% "Yes" and 58% "No."

TABLE 14

Males Responses (N=74)

Social Belief Inventory-Form A

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	12	34	15	9	3
	%	16	46	20	12	4
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	11	25	27	16	3
	%	11	34	37	7.	4
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	11	12	12	25	14
	%	15	16	16	34	19
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	21	27	17	5	3
	%	28	37	23	7	4
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	6	22	29	17	0
	%	8	30	39	23	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	15	20	15	12	12
	%	20	27	20	16	16

TABLE 14 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
		1	2	3	4	5
7. Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	4	21	25	11	7
	%	5	28	34	15	9
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	24	23	12	3	6
	%	32	31	16	4	8
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	4	7	18	26	12
	%	5	9	24	35	7
10. "Liberal" whites are free of racism.	No.	5	9	26	20	7
	%	7	12	35	27	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use whites.	No.	11	13	22	15	4
	%	15	18	30	27	5
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	15	30	13	2	5
	%	20	41	18	3	7
13. Minority groups want a responsible society?	No.	12	29	15	4	5
	%	16	39	20	5	7

TABLE 14 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
14. The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other blacks.	No.	6	11	30	15	4
	%	8	15	41	20	5
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	12	23	14	9	8
	%	16	31	19	12	11
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	5	21	23	15	2
	%	7	28	31	27	3
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	1	12	28	20	7
	%	1	16	38	27	9
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	7	18	20	18	6
	%	9	24	27	24	8
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	6	17	12	24	9
	%	8	23	16	32	12
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	4	10	24	16	14
	%	5	14	32	22	19

TABLE 14 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
21. When blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	16	17	16	13	6
	%	22	23	22	18	8
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	4	11	22	19	10
	%	5	15	30	26	14
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	10	8	10	20	18
	%	14	11	14	27	24

TABLE 15

Females Responses (N=60)

Social Belief Inventory-Form A

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	10	30	9	10	1
	%	17	50	15	17	1
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	5	5	20	21	6
	%	8	8	33	35	10
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	5	5	7	25	18
	%	8	8	12	42	30
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	22	20	12	1	4
	%	37	33	20	2	7
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	5	13	28	9	4
	%	8	22	47	15	7
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	3	6	13	21	17
	%	5	10	22	35	28

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
7. Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	5	14	26	6	7
	%	8	23	43	10	12
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	25	16	9	5	5
	%	42	27	15	8	8
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	1	4	9	24	22
	%	2	7	15	40	37
10. "Liberal" whites are free of racism.	No.	2	6	25	18	9
	%	3	10	42	30	15
11. Minority persons are trying to use whites.	No.	1	3	21	25	10
	%	2	5	35	42	17
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	8	28	19	2	1
	%	13	47	32	3	2
13. Minority groups want a responsible society?	No.	7	32	14	4	2
	%	12	53	23	7	3

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
14. The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other blacks.	No.	7	9	21	18	5
	%	12	15	35	30	8
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	12	15	13	13	6
	%	20	25	22	22	10
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	1	9	29	16	5
	%	2	15	48	27	8
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	4	30	15	7
	%	0	7	50	25	12
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	0	11	13	22	10
	%	0	18	22	37	17
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	2	6	14	20	14
	%	3	10	23	33	23
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	3	10	21	9	12
	%	5	17	35	15	20

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
21. When blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	6	10	23	12	5
	%	10	17	38	20	8
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	1	1	15	28	11
	%	2	2	25	47	18
23. There should be [illegible] restricting interracial marriage.	No.	1	2	7	16	30
	%	2	3	12	27	50

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
7. Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	10	35	51	17	14
	%	7	26	38	13	10
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	49	40	21	8	11
	%	37	30	16	6	8
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	5	11	27	50	35
	%	4	8	20	37	26
10. "Liberal" whites are free of racism.	No.	7	16	51	38	16
	%	5	12	38	28	12
11. Minority persons are trying to use whites.	No.	12	16	44	40	14
	%	9	12	33	30	10
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	23	59	32	4	6
	%	17	44	24	3	[illegible]
13. Minority groups want a responsible society?	No.	19	61	29	9	7
	%	14	46	22	7	5

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
14. The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other blacks.	No.	13	21	51	33	9
	%	10	16	38	25	7
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	24	39	27	22	14
	%	18	29	20	16	10
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	7	30	52	31	7
	%	5	22	39	23	5
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	1	17	58	35	14
	%	1	13	43	26	10
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	29	33	40	16	8
	%	22	25	30	12	6
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	9	23	26	44	23
	%	7	17	19	33	17
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	7	20	45	26	26
	%	5	15	34	40	40

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages				
		1	2	3	4	5
21. When blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	23	27	39	25	11
	%	17	20	29	19	8
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	5	13	37	47	21
	%	4	10	28	35	16
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	11	10	18	36	48
	%	8	7	13	27	36

TABLE 17

Males Responses (N=25)

Social Belief Inventory-Form B

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	2	5	12	5	1
	%	8	20	48	20	4
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	4	7	8	3	2
	%	16	28	32	12	8
3. Whites cannot and will not change except by force.	No.	2	7	9	6	1
	%	8	28	36	24	4
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	4	12	4	4	1
	%	16	48	16	16	4
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	3	3	13	3	2
	%	12	12	52	12	8
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	3	7	8	4	2
	%	12	28	32	16	8

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	3	15	3	2	0
	%	12	60	12	8	0
8. Whites are human, and whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	8	13	1	1	0
	%	32	52	4	4	0
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	0	3	12	5	0
	%	0	12	48	20	0
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	4	4	12	2	0
	%	16	16	48	8	0
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	1	6	10	5	0
	%	4	24	40	20	0
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	4	11	5	1	0
	%	16	44	20	4	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	2	3	9	3	1
	%	8	12	36	12	4

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	3	4	9	4	0
	%	12	16	36	16	0
15. Some whites have "soul."	No.	3	10	1	5	0
	%	12	40	4	20	0
16. All whites are racists.	No.	0	1	4	7	7
	%	0	4	16	28	28
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	1	4	9	3	2
	%	4	16	36	12	8
18. All whites are alike.	No.	2	1	8	8	5
	%	8	4	32	32	20
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	5	6	5	2	2
	%	20	24	20	8	8
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	3	6	3	7	0
	%	12	24	12	28	0
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	2	4	5	8
	%	0	8	16	20	32

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	3	8	4	3	1
	%	12	32	16	12	4
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	0	3	1	8	7
	%	0	12	4	32	28

TABLE 18

Females Responses (N=23)

Social Belief Inventory-Form B

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	4	5	7	5	1
	%	17	22	30	22	4
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	7	8	6	1	1
	%	30	35	26	4	4
3. Whites cannot and will not change except by force.	No.	4	8	6	3	0
	%	17	35	26	13	0
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	5	10	3	2	2
	%	22	43	13	9	9
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	2	11	6	2	2
	%	9	48	26	9	9
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	4	11	3	2	2
	%	17	48	13	9	9

TABLE 18 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	2	13	3	4	0
	%	9	57	13	17	0
8. Whites are human, and whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	6	16	1	0	0
	%	26	70	4	0	0
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	8	6	2	6	0
	%	35	26	9	26	0
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	3	11	7	1	0
	%	13	48	30	4	0
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	4	10	7	2	1
	%	17	43	30	9	4
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	2	12	6	1	0
	%	9	52	26	4	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	1	9	5	5	1
	%	4	39	22	22	4

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

Item	Score	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
14. The lower-class White is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	4	11	0	6	0
	%	17	48	0	26	0
15. Some whites have "soul."	No.	3	8	1	2	7
	%	13	35	4	9	30
16. All whites are racists.	No.	0	3	2	12	4
	%	0	13	9	52	17
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	0	8	6	4	2
	%	0	35	26	17	9
18. All whites are alike.	No.	0	3	11	4	3
	%	0	13	48	17	13
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	2	5	2	7	4
	%	9	22	9	30	17
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	0	2	5	6	6
	%	0	9	22	26	26
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	1	3	2	7	7
	%	4	13	9	30	30

TABLE 18 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	7	9	1	2	1
	%	30	39	4	9	4
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	2	1	3	7	5
	%	9	4	13	30	22

TABLE 19

Total Responses (N=48)

Social Belief Inventory-Form B

Item	Score	Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages 1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	9	10	18	9	6
	%	18	20	37	18	12
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	11	13	13	5	3
	%	22	27	27	10	6
3. Whites cannot and will not change except by force.	No.	8	16	14	7	2
	%	16	33	29	14	4
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	12	21	6	6	2
	%	24	43	12	12	4
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	10	13	16	6	5
	%	20	27	33	12	10
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	8	18	10	7	6
	%	16	37	20	14	12

TABLE 19 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses—Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	5	25	6	6	4
	%	10	51	12	12	8
8. Whites are human, and whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	14	27	1	1	2
	%	29	55	2	2	4
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	9	9	12	10	3
	%	18	18	24	20	6
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	10	13	17	3	2
	%	20	27	35	6	4
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	5	17	17	6	3
	%	10	35	35	12	6
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	7	21	10	2	1
	%	14	43	20	4	2
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	7	10	11	9	2
	%	14	20	22	18	4

TABLE 19 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	11	16	6	9	3
	%	22	32	12	18	6
15. Some whites have "soul."	No.	6	18	1	6	8
	%	12	37	2	12	16
16. All whites are racists.	No.	3	4	5	17	13
	%	6	8	10	35	27
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	2	11	15	o	5
	%	4	22	30	12	10
18. All whites are alike.	No.	2	7	17	13	7
	%	4	14	35	27	14
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	10	9	6	8	8
	%	20	18	12	16	16
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	4	8	13	6	12
	%	8	16	27	12	24
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	3	8	5	10	16
	%	6	16	10	20	33

TABLE 19 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses-Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	12	15	5	6	1
	%	24	31	10	12	2
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	3	4	5	19	16
	%	6	8	10	39	33

In grade 11 the total percent of "Yes" responses was 67%, but in grade 12 it was 49%. In the latter grade a majority of blacks responding answered "No."

Attitude Toward Opposite Race

A Social Belief Inventory was administered to 183 students (134 whites and 49 blacks) in grades 8-12 in study halls of the junior high and senior high schools during the time the Study Team made its on site visit. The purpose of the inventory was to sample students' beliefs about and cognitions of members of the opposite race, with the hopes of determining how such beliefs and cognitions affect the behavior toward the opposites.

The inventory was a Likert-type scale which asked students to indicate their agreement or disagreement with each of twenty-three items by checking Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree or Strongly Disagree. Two forms were used, Form A which was completed by white students, and Form B used by black students. A frequency check was made to determine the number and percentage of students who responded on each item.

Tables 14-16 summarize items found on Form A, and Tables 17-19 summarize those found on Form B. The choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree and Strongly Disagree were converted to values from one to five with one being Strongly Agree and five being Strongly Disagree.

After obtaining the frequency check for each item an attempt was made to determine which items in the inventory were highly related to each other. For this purpose the statistical technique of factor analysis was used. The purpose of factor analysis in this case would be to identify clusters of interrelated items in order to clarify the conceptual content of the questionnaire, and to aid in the removal of highly specific and uninformative items.

On the basis of the item intercorrelations a table of factor loadings was obtained using the conventional method of principal factor analysis (Tucker communality estimates, Kaiser's latent root one criterion for number of factors) followed by varimax and promax rotation.

The factor analysis is useful for identifying homogeneous subsets of items and can be regarded as a descriptive classification of the items on each instrument. In this case it resulted in the identification of seven factors on each form. Items which have high loadings on each factor can be expected to be highly related in terms of their observed correlations. On the basis of the promax primary factor loadings the factors which appear below were identified. Also a table of correlation among the items with loadings -.30 is presented for each factor.

Form A

Factor I Belief in whites' knowledge and understanding of black culture, competence and mannerisms.

Loading		Item/Description
.68	2	Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.
.66	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.63	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.
.58	9	Minority groups are not dependable.
-.55	4	Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.
.38	16	Most minority groups are angry.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor I

	2	23	22	9	4	16
2	—	.21	.15	.25	-.17	.20
23	.21	—	.36	.43	-.47	.31
22	.15	.36	—	.40	-.30	.33
9	.25	.43	.40	—	-.45	.43
4	-.17	-.47	-.30	-.45	—	-.33
16	.20	.31	.33	.43	-.33	—

Tables 14 and 15 give a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. For the purpose of this study those responses, listed in percentages, are reported in three categories, Agree, Unsure, and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I--Items--Form A

2 Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	45%	16%
U	37%	33%
D	25%	45%

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

	Male	Female
A	25%	5%
U	14%	12%
D	51%	77%

22 Black supervisors, managers, and administrators are appointed because they are black.

	Male	Female
A	20%	4%
U	30%	25%
D	40%	65%

9 Minority groups are not dependable.

	Male	Female
A	14%	9%
U	24%	13%
D	42%	77%

4 Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.

	Male	Female
A	65%	67%
U	23%	20%
D	11%	9%

16 Most minority groups are angry.

	Male	Female
A	35%	17%
U	31%	48%
D	30%	35%

Factor II Belief in overaggressiveness of blacks.

Loading	**Item/Description**
.61	11 Minorities are trying to use whites.
.56	19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.44	6 Minority groups must be controlled.
.38	5 Minority groups are oversensitive.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor II

	11	19	6	5
11	—	.38	.45	.21
19	.38	—	.40	.25
6	.45	.40	—	.34
5	.21	.25	.34	—

The male—female responses for items in this factor were:

11 Minorities are trying to use whites.

	Male	Female
A	33%	7%
U	30%	35%
D	32%	59%

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	31%	13%
U	16%	23%
D	44%	56%

6 Minority groups must be controlled.

A	47%	15%
U	20%	22%
D	32%	63%

5 Minority groups are oversensitive.

A	38%	30%
U	39%	47%
D	23%	22%

Factor III Belief of blacks' dependence upon whites.

Loading		Item/Description
.68	17	Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in a white society.
.50	14	The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against blacks.
.47	1	Color is not important in individual relationships.
.41	7	Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor III

	17	14	1	7
17	—	-.27	.36	.24
14	-.27	—	-.31	-.19
1	.36	-.31	—	.27
7	.24	-.19	.27	—

Male—female responses:

17 Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in a white society.

	Male	Female
A	17%	7%
U	38%	50%
D	36%	37%

14 The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against blacks.

	Male	Female
A	23%	27%
U	41%	35%
D	25%	38%

1 Color is not important in individual relationships.

	Male	Female
A	62%	67%
U	20%	15%
D	16%	18%

7 Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.

	Male	Female
A	33%	31%
U	34%	43%
D	14%	22%

Factor IV Belief in the superiority of Whites.

Loading		Item/Description
.66	10	"Liberal" whites are free of racism.
.44	3	White society is superior to minority group societies.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor IV

	10	3
10	--	.26
3	.26	--

When there are only one or two items in a factor it is difficult to tell exactly what they mean; however, the one and two factor items are presented any way. Male--female responses on this factor were:

10 "Liberal" whites are free of racism.

	Male	Female
A	19%	13%
U	35%	42%
D	36%	45%

3 White society is superior to minority group societies.

	Male	Female
A	31%	16%
U	16%	12%
D	53%	72%

Factor V Belief in whites' ability to empathize with minority problems.

Loading	Item/Description
.65	15 Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

Male—female responses for Factor V.

15 Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

	Male	Female
A	47%	45%
U	19%	22%
D	23%	32%

Factor VI Belief in interdependence of the races.

Loading	Item/Description
.52	12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

Male—female responses.

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	61%	60%
U	18%	32%
D	10%	5%

Factor VII Belief in the worth of individuals, regardless of color.

Loading		**Item/Description**
.48	20	I may be part of the problem.
.34	8	Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor V

	20	8
20	—	.25
8	.25	—

Male—female responses were:

20. I may be a part of the problem.

	Male	Female
A	19%	22%
U	32%	35%
D	41%	35%

8. Members of minority groups are individuals with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.

	Male	Female
A	63%	69%
U	16%	15%
D	12%	16%

Form B

Factor I Belief in racist tendencies in whites.

Loading		Item/Description
.83	18	All whites are alike.
.83	17	Whites are united in their attitudes toward monority groups.
.74	16	All whites are racists.
.73	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
-.52	15	Some whites have "soul."
.51	21	Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor I

	18	17	16	23	15	21
18	--	.58	.67	.63	-.40	.45
17	.58	--	.52	.66	-.51	.41
16	.67	.52	--	.59	-.35	.39
23	.63	.66	.59	--	-.40	.29
15	-.40	-.51	-.35	-.40	--	-.23
21	.45	.41	.39	.29	-.23	--

Tables 17 and 18 show a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for other comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. As with the reporting of Form A results, responses are listed in percentages and are reported in three categories, Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I—Items—Form B

18 All whites are alike.

	Male	Female
A	12%	13%
U	32%	48%
D	52%	30%

17 Whites are united in their attitudes toward minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	20%	35%
U	36%	26%
D	20%	26%

16 All whites are racists.

	Male	Female
A	4%	13%
U	16%	9%
D	56%	69%

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

	Male	Female
A	12%	13%
U	4%	13%
D	60%	52%

15 Some whites have "soul."

	Male	Female
A	52%	48%
U	4%	4%
D	20%	39%

21 Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.

	Male	Female
A	8%	17%
U	16%	9%
D	52%	60%

Factor II Belief in the interdependence of races.

Loading	Item/Description
.60	12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
.54	10 Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.
.53	22 Black supervisors, managers, and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.
.51	3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.
.46	2 The best way to be seen is to be heard.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor II

	12	10	22	3	2
12	—	.33	.39	.17	.34
10	.33	—	.33	.17	.33
22	.39	.33	—	.16	.13
3	.17	.16	.16	—	.27
2	.34	.33	.13	.27	—

Male--female responses on Factor II were:

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	60%	61%
U	20%	26%
D	4%	4%

10 Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.

	Male	Female
A	32%	61%
U	48%	30%
D	8%	4%

22 Black supervisors, managers, and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

	Male	Female
A	44%	69%
U	16%	4%
D	16%	13%

3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

	Male	Female
A	36%	52%
U	36%	26%
D	28%	13%

2 The best way to be seen is to be heard.

	Male	Female
A	44%	65%
U	32%	26%
D	20%	8%

Factor III Belief in blacks' ability to handle exploitive tendencies of whites.

Loading		Item/Description
.76	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against blacks.
.61	11	Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.
.33	6	Whites must deal on minority terms now.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor III

	14	11	6
14	—	.49	-.25
11	.49	—	-.10
6	-.25	-.10	—

Male—female responses on Factor III were:

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against blacks.

	Male	Female
A	28%	65%
U	36%	0%
D	16%	26%

11 Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.

A	28%	60%
U	40%	30%
D	20%	13%

6 Whites must deal on minority terms now.

	Male	Female
A	40%	65%
U	32%	13%
D	24%	18%

Factor IV Belief in superiority of whites.

Loading	Item/Description
.62	13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
.58	19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.39	20 I may be part of the problem.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor IV.

	13	19	20
13	—	.29	.15
19	.29	—	.28
20	.15	.28	—

Male—female responses for Factor IV:

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

	Male	Female
A	20%	43%
U	36%	22%
D	16%	26%

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	44%	31%
U	20%	9%
D	16%	47%

20 I may be part of the problem.

A	36%	9%
U	12%	22%
D	28%	52%

Factor V Belief in whites' ability to aid the black cause.

Loading	Item/Description
-.69	7 Some whites can help and "do their own thing."
.47	1 Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor V

	7	1
7	—	-.33
1	-.33	—

Male—female responses for Factor V:

7 Some whites can help and "do their own thing."

	Male	Female
A	72%	66%
U	12%	13%
D	8%	17%

1 Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	28%	39%
U	48%	30%
D	24%	26%

Factor VI Belief in the humaneness of whites as evidenced by a change of white attitudes toward blacks.

Loading	Item/Description
.57	4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.
.51	8 Whites are human, and whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor VI

	4	8
4	—	.32
8	.32	—

Male—female responses for Factor VI:

4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

	Male	Female
A	64%	63%
U	16%	13%
D	20%	18%

8 Whites are human, and whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.

	Male	Female
A	84%	96%
U	4%	4%
D	4%	0%

Factor VII Belief in the trustfulness and truthfulness of whites.

Loading	Item/Description
.44	5 Whites are distrustful.
.41	9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

Item Intercorrelations—Factor VII

	5	9
5	—	.13
9	.13	—

Male—female responses for Factor VII:

5 Whites are distrustful.

	Male	Female
A	24%	57%
U	52%	26%
D	20%	18%

9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

A	12%	61%
U	48%	9%
D	20%	26%

Though both Form A and Form B of the inventory provided useful information about the attitudes of students toward the opposite race, the writer chose not to venture conclusive statements about how students' beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race. Such would not be desirable considering the unsystematic way the sample was drawn, among other reasons. It is worth noting that the trend of the data at hand indicates that white females tended to feel more strongly about, and respond with more sensitiveness than did white males to factors one through four. There was less difference in the manner of responses in factors five through seven. In the case of both male and female, the older students, grades 11-12, tended to respond less strongly on factors one and two.

In general there were sexual differences in the way blacks responded to factors two through four. Black females tended to be stronger in their belief about those factors than did black males. It was interesting to note that black males and females tended to record a higher percentage of "Unsure" responses to the items in their inventory. It was likewise interesting to note that the older students, grades 11-12, were quite strong in the beliefs in factors five through seven.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSES--PLAN, PROGRAMS, PRACTICES, PROCEDURES

A Summary of Ewing's Objectives and Plan

The Ewing Board of Education was notified in November, 1969 by the New Jersey Equal Educational Opportunity Office that its schools were racially imbalanced, and that the district had a shortage of black teachers. The month following the notification the Board met with EEO representatives to gain clarity on charges and to learn about guidelines the latter had established for districts that were imbalanced. From the date of that meeting the Board and its school officials busied themselves laying the groundwork for the implementation of a plan that would be acceptable to its patrons as well as to EEO.

Using the guidelines established by EEO and recalling an earlier practice that had been used in the district, the Board elicited the help of a Citizens Advisory Committee made up of 65 persons representing a cross-section of the community's civic, social and educational groups. The Committee, which later subdivided into three subcommittees, sought to identify problem areas in race relations, to examine the racial imbalance that existed in some schools, and to furnish the Board with recommendations on these items.

Emanating from the Committee were recommendations that the "middle school" concept and the "central school" concept might be meritorious for Ewing, especially in light of the charges of imbalance. Using the impetus gained from the Committee's work and recommendations, and taking advantage of contacts that had been made with the broader community the Board developed what was referred to as The Reorganization Plan.

The objectives for the plan were 1) to improve the educational system; 2) to achieve better racial balance; and, 3) to ease the overcrowding at the secondary level.

According to school officials The Reorganization Plan has been and is being successfully implemented. With student grouping in grades 6-7 and 7-8 the district has made better utilization of staff and added a greater variety of new programs at the sixth grade level, thus satisfying, in part, objective number one. As for objective number two, the district hired outside consultants who made use of the computer in redistricting. A racial balance standard of a minimum of 18% nonwhite and maximum of 23% was established for and adhered to in each elementary school. The effect of redistricting was not only racial balance but to some extent the retention of the neighborhood school concept. The third objective was achieved by way of a $150,000 referendum which financed the purchase of five relocatable classrooms that could be used at the central school.

Profile of Ewing Township, New Jersey*

County: Mercer (one of 8 Townships, 4 Boros and the City of Trenton)

General Data:

Population 1960	Population 1970	%Change	Labor Force	Mean Income	Housing Units	Housing Median Value	Housing Total Value in Thousands	Tax Rate per $100 Value
26,628	32,831	23	15,365	13,712	10,250	20,933	191,323	$5.64

Income Levels:

Under 3,000	3,000-5,000	5,000-7,000	7,000-10,000	10,000-12,000	12,000-15,000	15,000-24,000	25,000-49,000	50,000-Over
285	385	597	1,623	1,153	1,645	2,288	549	55

Occupational Profile:

Prof.	Managerial Salaried	Sales, Rental	Clerical	Constr., Crafts	Manufact.	Service Pers.&H	Govt., incl.Local	Educ.
3,808	2,242	2,182	7,943	2,413	3,570	1,117	5,970	1,800

Ethnic Background:

Britain	Ireland	Poland	Italy	Hispanic	Black	Indian
1,007	351	1,310	2,139	229	3,540	25

Public School Education:

Grades K-9			Grades 10-12			
Schools	Students	Teachers	Schools	Students	Teachers	Amount Spent Per Student
						$1,034.90

Education Levels:

4 Years High School	4 Years College	Median Education
6,796	2,663	12.0

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*Facts and Figures gleaned from Mercer County Almanac 1973/4 published by the Trenton/Mercer County Chamber of Commerce.

The Ewing plan was not widely known and advertised as a desegregation plan, though impetus for the plan came from EEO charges of imbalance. It did not require closing down schools or building new schools, though the latter was once considered. Rather the plan called for the use of every school concurrently owned and operated by the Board, but with population shifts in several. For example, there were seven elementary schools in the district before reorganization and there would be seven afterwards. The difference was instead of housing K-6, each (with the exception of a small elementary school) would house K-5. One of the two junior highs before reorganization was converted to a "middle school" where all of the district's sixth and seventh graders were assigned. The remaining junior high school became the "central school" for all of the district's eighth and ninth graders. Tenth, eleventh and twelfth graders continued to go to the only high school in the district.

Ewing's plan resulted in some shifts of teachers, but no firings or demotions. It resulted in some expansion of bussing which cost the Board an estimated additional $60,000, but the bussing was two-way and didn't require extremely long rides, or before dawn pickups or after dark deliveries. Those affected by the plan, for example parents, teachers and students, though perhaps inconvenienced by it, were not so disrupted as to cause any rejection of it. In fact these persons as a group were supportive of or at least accepting of the plan.

As mentioned earlier, the Ewing Board of Education had the underlying task, but overriding goal to satisfy its patrons while developing a plan that met with the approval of state officials. The patrons were involved through the Citizens Advisory Committee, "coffee klatches," the Board's meeting and other means. The state officials were kept informed through memoranda from the Superintendent to the Director of New Jersey's EEO Office, and they were involved whenever the district saw the need to do so.

Ewing District--As a Comparative Desegregation Project Site

As was explained to the Superintendent and the Board when the invitation was extended for Ewing to participate in this research project, the district was chosen because it had been identified from source data as one that was successful in bringing about conflict-free desegregation. The project's major purpose was to identify and describe the processes that led to that success. While looking in retrospect at Ewing as one of the sites selected, an attempt is made here to match the district against the initial criteria used for selection to see how its plan, programs, practices, and procedures stack up on the basis of observation.

Below are listed the criteria which relate to students, staff, parents, and instructional settings that were used in the site selection process, and some indicators that were used as the Study Team made its on site visit.

Criterion 1. Evidence that majority and minority students and staff are structurally integrated[1] into the social system of the school so both hold statuses and play roles that are equal in power and prestige.

C-1 Indicators--1. Composition of student body in each school--Each elementary school (K-5) in Ewing has between 18%-23% nonwhite in its student body. There is only one middle school (6-7), one junior high (7-8) and one high school (10-12), thus all students are assigned thereto without regard to race.

--2. Ethnic composition of staff in each school (refer to Table 5)--Ninety-four (94%) of the total full-time staff in Ewing is white, six (6%) nonwhite (or black). Of the 297 full-time classroom teachers, sixteen (16) or 5% are nonwhite. There are eight librarians in the district, none are nonwhite; there are ten counselors, two are nonwhite (black). Three of the six vice principals, or 50%, are black.

--3. Distribution of majority/minority group students in each class (the Ewing Reorganization Plan did not address the way students were distributed in each class, only in each school)--At the local school level, elementary principals generally assigned students to classes heterogeneously, on the basis of such variables as race, sex and personality of student and teacher. Heterogeneous grouping is also used in the middle school except for mathematics where student ability groups are used. Students are basically assigned to classes at the eighth grade level by the principal and counselor on the basis of ability and prior teachers' recommendations.

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[1] Structural Integration (definition used by the California State Department of Education)--that situation in which staff members, children and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system that are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups.

From grade nine through grade twelve students are "given the opportunity to select courses." Where discrepancies exist between a teacher's perception of students' ability and the course selected, the matter is resolved by the counselor. The net result of the procedure is that a large number of blacks are found in basic and average classes while white students are found in advanced courses.

--4. Discipline--Each school, from the middle school through the senior high school, had and shared discipline codes. Each reportedly interpreted and reinterpreted the code to students each year. Most students interviewed stated that discipline is uniformly administered, though some voiced dissenting opinions. The same opinion was voiced by teachers, counselors and principals, though a few of the former indicated that some of their peers did not understand or would not accept the behaviors and life styles of students who differed from their own.

--5. Integration of minority group students into organizations and activities of school--equal participation--The schools, especially at the upper levels, don't feel the need to "insure" equal participation because these schools never operated as segregated institutions. Tables 10-13 show that there is minority representation in clubs and athletics. It was learned that a lack of representation was basically by student choice. It was also found that black students hold offices and positions such as president and vice president of the student council at the high school, captain of the boys basketball team, co-captains of the football, soccer, wrestling, baseball and track teams.

--6. Patterns of student/student interaction--In general, students at the elementary level interacted freely in classes, lunchrooms, cafeteria, on playgrounds and the like. The pattern of interaction as students advanced in grade and age was one of "gravitating toward friends." Usually the friends were of the same race.

Criterion 2. Evidence that racial/cultural isolation has been reduced and is reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and nonacademic activities.

C-2 Indicators--1. (In addition to all of the above indicators) A sense of fellowship and mutual respect, as demonstrated by staff and student planning, exists--little evidence was seen of student/staff planning. Programs and procedures seem to be staff inspired and initiated. This caveat must be mentioned in fairness, that such planning if it exists could have been overlooked due to timing as it related to the Study Team's visit.

--2. Evidence of avoidance of academic stereotyping--though "self selection" of courses was reported to be the practice in upper grades, the net result was placement of nonwhite students in basic and average classes and white students in advanced. Though schools do not go out of their way to stereotype students as inferior or superior, no strong evidence was presented to show tendencies in the opposite direction.

--3. Evidence that teachers have the authority that enables them to work confidently and flexibly with students of varying abilities and talents--Teachers were found to have freedom to structure their classes and programs to the extent needed to meet varying needs and abilities.

Criterion 3. Evidence of mutual understanding and positive interaction between majority and minority students and staff.

C-3 Indicators--1. Schools' atmosphere--there was little evidence of strained relationships that existed between students and staff. The atmosphere of the schools did not appear to have been affected either positively or negatively by the reorganization plan. As was mentioned previously, there is more student to student interaction between races of lower levels, and more of a tendency toward separation at the upper levels. There was no evidence of student protests or conflicts, however.

--2. Students' attitudes toward school--At the junior and senior high levels, students interviewed were neither overly positive nor overly negative about their school. When asked to share specifically their feelings about their teachers in general, the expressions tended more in a positive direction.

--3. Counseling and guidance services--these services were available to students without distortion of race or color. The Study Team encountered no resentment on the part of students to consult counselors, nor observed any resentment on the part of the counselors to consult with students.

Criterion 4. Evidence of curricular offerings and materials reflecting cultural diversity.

C-4 Indicators--1. Curriculum offerings related to minority experience or to majority/minority relations--As a recommendation of the Curriculum Subcommittee of the Citizens Advisory Committee black studies was expanded to all grade levels as a part of established history courses and the social studies program. Materials on black spirituals and profiles on other black contributions to American society and culture were developed by an advisory specialist in the district to be used as resources.

--2. Library volumes related to the minority experience or by minority group authors--Each library observed at the upper levels subscribed to minority related periodicals, and had a collection of books on the minority experience. However, the Team's effort was concentrated on the Ewing High School to determine the comprehensiveness of the collection and subscriptions. This library subscribes to at least eight minority-related periodicals, namely, *Africa Report*, *Ebony*, *Journal of Negro Education*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Negro History Bulletin*, *CORE* (bi-monthly), *CRISIS-NAACP* (monthly), and "Equal Opportunity-Newsletter" of the N.J. Division on Civil Rights. The library's collection includes approximately 300 books and other reference materials on or by blacks, excluding films, records and transparencies on same.

--3. Evidence of varied instructional techniques designed to meet the different learning styles of students--The team observed that the traditional, row-by-row, lecture-type teaching dominated the classrooms observed. This is not to say that there were no classes observed in which differential instructional techniques were used. However, it is to suggest that beyond the elementary levels, innovative practices were scarce.

Criterion 5. Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

C-5 Indicators--1. Achievement data on students in school. Except for the total reading score and total mathematics scores attained by each elementary school on the Metropolitan Tests, with an average computed for the district, no achievement data were sought from the schools. These total scores were not broken down by ethnic groups.

Criterion 6. Evidence of comprehensive efforts to develop and offer programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

C-6 Indicators--1. Evidence of use of Title I, ESAP or other funds to develop compensatory programs--The team found no evidence which indicated that compensatory programs were set up with Title I or other funds. However Title IV funds were used for other purposes (see Indicator 3 below).

--2. Evidence of use of resources within and outside the school district to help devise programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity--The Director of the New Jersey EEO Office was called on whenever the Board felt a need for her services. Through her help the district was able to receive Title IV funds that were used for redistricting plans and for in-service (see Indicator 3 below).

--3. Attempts at in-service training aimed at such program development--Title IV funds, in the amount of $100,000 for the first year the plan was being implemented, were used to pay teachers to attend workshops and conferences for self-improvement during the summer and during the regular year. One of the district's black teachers was hired full time as an "advisory specialist." In this role she helped coordinate in-service training activities which included integrating New Jersey and Black history, finding media resources dealing with Afro-American studies, writing a reading curriculum for upgraded schools. As an extension of the training, a "home visitation" program designed to bring teachers into contact with prospective kindergartners was established. This component had the effect of teachers meeting parents and students on their own "turf" and gaining a firsthand awareness of students' backgrounds prior to their enrolling.

Criterion 7. Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

C-7 Indicators--1. Existence of a citizen's committee, or advisory committee, to assist with desegregation plans--The 65-person Citizens Advisory Committee commissioned by the Ewing Board was a very strong component in the latter's scheme.

--2. Evidence of biracial school committees--The Team did not find any trace of biracial school committees existing. When local schools referred to committee work they usually pointed to the Advisory Committee as the structure. Though the Board itself would not be considered a "biracial school committee" it might be pointed out here that it does have black representation. Two of the nine members are black females, one of whom was recently voted vice president.

--3. Evidence that parents and school community are kept informed about problems and successes in the integration process-- Ewing's board publishes periodically a newsletter, "Ewing Township Board of Education News," which is sent to each known household in the community. This official house organ is used to convey school news in general. Additionally, the school administration set up a "rumor phone" into which problem calls could be placed by parents, students or others. The phone was one way of giving the public almost immediate access to a school official who could address their problem.

CHAPTER VII

"INTEGRATION" IN RETROSPECT

Some Concluding Observations

Jane Mercer, a Sociologist at the University of California at Riverside, California, uses in her studies of school district desegregation a five stage policy model designed to determine where on the segregation to integration continuum a district falls. Since her model has implications for this paper it is briefly described below:

Stage 5 - Moving Toward Integration: Philosophic Stance--Equality of educational output, cultural pluralism.

Stage 4 - Comprehensive Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--Schools should have the same ethnic proportions as the district's population, students should have equality of educational opportunity--the latter defined in terms of input, same teachers, schools and texts.

Stage 3 - Token Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--District no longer denies responsibility to desegregate, it alters boundaries, builds new schools, moves toward open enrollment and uses as the underlying theme freedom of choice.

Stage 2 - De Facto Segregation: Philosophic Stance--The Board of Education does not have the responsibility to change a pattern that it did not cause. The main theme is the neighborhood school.

Stage 1 - De Jure Segregation: Philosophic Stance--It is not the legal responsibility of the Board to desegregate. The question is raised as to whether the responsibility belongs to the state or to the district.

Ewing was judged to be a racially imbalanced district in 1969 by the New Jersey EEO Office, but even at the time in question Ewing was beyond Stage 1 on the above continuum. Currently, Ewing is observed to be somewhere between Stage 4 and Stage 5, based on perceptions received from people who were interviewed and those received from activities, programs and practices observed.

This school district has effected an ethnic proportion per school which resembles that of the district. Its plan listed as one of its basic objectives improving the educational program for all students. It has given attention to input variables such as texts, curricular offerings, and to some extent teachers. All of these attributes are characteristic of Stage 4.

Beyond this stage the Ewing Board has moved in the direction of cultural pluralism as it mandated that black studies be expanded to all levels and that they be integrated into New Jersey history and into the social studies program. There has been some attempt to bolster the nonwhite staff, some attempt to get parents, regardless of race, involved at the district level. Except in isolated instances, there did not seem to be serious obstacles to students sharing in equal status in extracurricular activities on the individual school level. Even so, there are some things that suggest that the district has not yet reached Stage 5.

First of all, the focus in desegregating or racially balancing has been at the district level, i.e., schools in the district having the same ethnic proportions as that in the district, and on each student having access to equality of educational opportunity, as defined by input variables. There seems to have been less emphasis on equality of outcomes as they relate to the academic placement and skills performance of students. For example, schools at the upper level pointed with pride to the fact that students select their own courses. However, these schools did not offer explanations of what they were doing to enhance nonwhite students' performance in skill subjects, or what they were doing to reduce the number of such students who are placed, in many instances disproportionately, in the "Below Average" and similar classes. The point here is that schools were not operating under the same kind of mandate that the district was. Therefore, they have not reached the same point on the continuum as has the district.

Secondly, though there were reported attempts to increase the nonwhite teaching staff in the district, still only 5% (16 of 297) of the classroom teachers are nonwhite, in this case black. There are no nonwhite principals or librarians. At the central office level, there is no minority person on staff, even in clerical positions. The status of affirmative action in the district and schools could be questioned on the basis of these figures.

Final Remarks

The data in this report were generated from formal and informal observations and from structured and unstructured interviews. These data are not exhaustive, as they were collected by a team of six persons who made a four-day site visit to Ewing, visiting six of the district's ten schools. Time and space constraints made it humanly impossible to capture every moment of the Ewing drama as it unfolded. However, the team attempted to extract the substance of all conversations and observations and to record them correctly and objectively in the hope that the Ewing portrait might prove beneficial to others.

DESEGREGATION IN GOLDSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

A CASE STUDY

Following are the names of the staff that comprised the investigation and observation team in Goldsboro, North Carolina:

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1972-73 academic year, a research team working out of Teachers College, Columbia University conducted case studies in districts where comprehensive and effective desegregation processes had been implemented. The Goldsboro City School system, Goldsboro North Carolina, was selected as a site which had provided evidence of practices and policies associated with effective school desegregation.

A research team visited the Goldsboro City system during January and again in February, 1973. Staff members in Goldsboro gave complete cooperation to the research activities. The efforts of Superintendent James A. Buie and Assistant Superintendent John Henry Wooten especially facilitated the research activities which were conducted in the district schools.

The purpose of the study was to document effective school desegregation practices and procedures under a variety of conditions. Variables examined include:

-student contact in academic and nonacademic activities
-assignment and grouping at all levels
-regrouping within classrooms
-staff interaction
-the effects of desegregation on school names and other aspects of student identity
-school policies for ensuring adequate student representation in school activities
-student groupings in such settings as lunchrooms, playgrounds, hallways and lounge areas
-parent representation in the schools
-current concerns of staff, students, and parents
-the roles of the district staff and black and white community prior to and during desegregation

Individual and group interviews were held with district administrators, teachers, parents, community members, and students. Observations took place in classrooms, lunchrooms hallways, and playgrounds. Thus, participant observation and structured and unstructured interviewing characterized data gathering techniques. The data was analyzed to determine key variables and to examine their linkage to resultant school programs and experiences for students, staff, and parents.

PART I

THE SETTING

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY IN THE SETTING

Incorporated in 1847, Goldsboro, North Carolina is an attractive southern city centrally located, fifty miles southeast of Raleigh, the capital. In the heart of the coastal plains section, it is fast becoming a distribution center in wholesale trade. Its excellent rail and highway facilities provide convenient means of transhipment to other cities and towns. The city is served by two railroads and eight trucking terminals, and is intersected by major highways.

Goldsboro is the county seat for Wayne County, North Carolina, and is at the center of one of the great agricultural areas of the United States. Literature prepared by the Goldsboro area Chamber of Commerce indicates that tobacco is the principal cash crop in the area, followed by corn, potatoes, green beans, wheat, and soy beans. The sixteen grain producing counties of Eastern North Carolina, of which Wayne is the center, form the largest grain belt east of the Mississippi.

Light industry in Goldsboro and Wayne County includes the manufacturing of furniture, textile, footwear, and foundry and leather products as well as metal fabricating, and the production of electrical components and transformers. While the diversified economy of Goldsboro is characterized by strong local ownership, the largest employer in the area is Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

Goldsboro is governed by a mayor and five aldermen, elected biennally. Municipal affairs are administered by a city manager selected by the Board. A walk along the streets of the downtown shopping area reveals neatly kept stores, busy with customers. One does not get the impression of a deteriorating city center. However, census figures do reveal movement of the white population to the county area, and a movement of the black population into the City.

Census figures of 1970 indicate that approximately 49% of the city's population of 26,810 is black. This represents an eight percent increase in the black population since 1960. During the same decade, the white population decreased by 18.2%, affecting a seven percent loss in the total city population. Figures for the county show just the opposite. Also, the number of new family dwellings constructed in the City of Goldsboro is declining while the County number is increasing.

Economic characteristics in the 1970 census show that many blacks in Goldsboro are employed as service workers, private household workers, and laborers in both farming and manufacturing. About 11% of the black population work as professionals, however. While whites are also employed as service workers and laborers, a large percentage of whites in Goldsboro are professionals and leaders in business. The unemployment rate for blacks is almost twice the rate for whites in the area.

For recreation, Goldsboro citizens utilize five parks in and around the city, three lakes, and three recreation centers. Swimming, boating, and fishing are popular, and North Carolina beaches are only two hours away.

A strong sense of religious faith is characteristic of the citizens of Goldsboro, and more than seventy churches in the area represent practically every religious denomination.

RACE RELATIONS

While demographic description may help to form an initial image of this particular setting, it cannot begin to reflect the complex network of traditions, roles and attitudes affecting the nature of interpersonal interaction in such a setting. As in innumerable other small southern cities, relationships between blacks and whites have been woven into a fabric of mutual expectations which has set definite limits upon communication, trust and understanding. The political attitudes of whites in Goldsboro are conservative, and black community members in interviews alluded to a highway billboard sign about ten miles outside of Goldsboro carrying the message, "Welcome to Ku Klux Klan country."

Events within both political and educational spheres over the past decade have reshaped relationships between blacks and whites in Goldsboro. Blacks have gained a sense of urgency in attaining equal rights and privileges. Whites have been forced to examine the meaning of conditions dictated by past traditions which have now been challenged on all fronts. While efforts to communicate and work together characterize shifting relationships between blacks and whites in Goldsboro some black community members felt that the reality of an emergent opposing force from black radicals in and around the city created a certain parity. In referring to political realities, a black businessman stated:

> We have fair race relations here. We have gotten our foot in the door. If there is a problem uptown, they will come and talk to the black community. It's not all on one side now, and that was shown one time. Some black radicals almost burned up the town. They know now you can push us but so far. We have a little respect for each other now. With some, they respect us because they know if they flog us tonight, tomorrow we're going to burn them up. We get along now.

Recently, the appearance of a group of blacks before the Board of Aldermen had resulted in the hiring of more blacks as policemen and firemen.

Both whites and blacks spoke of little social interaction with one another. This social distance is underlined by segregated housing patterns in Goldsboro. While many blacks live in neat brick or frame houses in pleasant neighborhoods, there are also many who live in weather-beaten wooden shacks on brick supports along rutted dirt roads. In stark contrast are the shaded white neighborhoods with graceful homes that hint of elegant life styles.

Yet, both blacks and whites spoke of friendly relationships that had been formed over years of employer-employee interaction. For some, a sense of closeness and trust had been formed within the limits defined by these role expectations. Churches have recently sponsored events where blacks and whites could socialize together. When the First African Baptist Church burned down, some white churces in Goldsboro invited the black parishioners of the Baptist Church to participate in their programs. There are also some integrated facilities for student activities after school hours. However, these are by no means sufficiently equipped, and boys make more use of them than girls. They include the Wayne Community Center, Boys Club at Royal Street, E.H. House Club (named for past Dillard High School coach) and a Teen Club.

Most noteworthy was a community presentation of The Messiah during December, 1972. Previously, the work had been performed annually by black community members in an all black church. This past year, however, whites had also participated, going into the black community to rehearse, and the performance had taken place in an all white church. This was earmarked by many community members, both black and white, as a very positive example of relationships in the community. The black male director of the choir stated, "Both races discovered each other. There was a beautiful sharing in the whole situation. Years back, whites might not have taken that step. There were more whites than blacks this year."

A biracial Human Relations Committee exists in Goldsboro which is made up of prominent black and white people. Problems are brought to this committee, and representatives go back to their own groups to try to settle the problems. While segregationists exist on this committee, they appear willing to work on problems to avoid major confrontations in the town. Both blacks and whites spoke positively of the Committee and its efforts to solve problems through mutual dialogue. Black businessmen and professionals spoke, however, of their difficulties in initiating significant black involvement in political decision making in Goldsboro. One Businessman stated, "Only about 35% of our blacks are eligible to vote, and money and votes are what are needed. We certainly don't have the money." When asked to name outstanding black leaders in the community, blacks said they had no spokesmen. However, the name of a prosperous black businesswoman was constantly raised as someone who had a lot of influence, and who would speak for blacks in a crisis. Some blacks felt that the aura of cooperation with whites in Goldsboro had made blacks lazy as far as politics was concerned. Others felt that historically blacks in the south had not been prepared to deal effectively with political realities:

> We have not been taught to use what we have. I'm guilty of that. I have a lot more information in my possession than I really put to use, and sometimes under stress I'll remember something that I could use very well. But we become frightened, and we are afraid. And when a real emergency comes along and threatens us, instead of thinking, we become so tense that we can't visualize anything except the worse happening. And most of us can't stand any more worse things happening to us, you know. We've been threatened so much. And so we are not financially, emotionally, or in any way equipped to handle any crisis.
>
> (minister's wife)

As in most communities across the United States, the white power structure is a deeply embedded way of life, having its roots in historical precedence, wealth, and influence. In Goldsboro, this structure is linked to school decision making, and a significant element in the process of desegregation in this comfortable small city was the support given by white community leaders. As members of the Board of Education and as leading spokesmen in the community, they helped lead an effort that was characterized by widespread communication and cooperation throughout the black and white communities.

PART II

DESEGREGATION PLANS AND PROCESSES

DESEGREGATION PLANS[1]

1965 - 1972

A familiarity with housing patterns, power structures, and the nature of black-white relations in the Goldsboro community is fundamental to an appreciation of the school district's accomplishment in dismantling a segregated system with a minimum amount of conflict. While there is much yet to be done in Goldsboro to create an integrated setting of the highest quality, the desegregation process itself revealed a strong community commitment to public education and a willingness to communicate and cooperate among those who participated.

The Goldsboro City school system enrollment numbered 6,569 students (including 140 special education students) in September, 1972. The system is housed in five elementary schools in the district, two contain grades one and two, one school houses grades three and four, another houses grades one through four, and one is a fifth grade school. One of the middle schools houses sixth and seventh graders, and the other seventh and eighth graders. Goldsboro High School West is for ninth graders, and Goldsboro High School East contains grades ten through twelve. The current school organization in Goldsboro is an outgrowth of the long process of change and reorganization to achieve desegregation in all of the district schools.

There are many in Goldsboro who are quick to point out that desegregation efforts extended back to 1965, when the Goldsboro City Board of Education adopted a "freedom of choice" plan for student attendance on May 12, 1965.[2] Although the Brown vs. Board of Education decisions[3] had been handed down by the United States Supreme Court in 1954 and 1955, Goldsboro, as most southern school districts, moved very slowly and reluctantly toward a unitary school system.

The initial freedom of choice plan implemented in Goldsboro during 1965-66 applied to grades one, seven, nine, and twelve. During the following two academic years, however, the plan was extended to include all grades, K-12. A letter from the United States Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, dated August 29, 1965, had stated:

> The plan submitted for the Goldsboro City Schools for the desegregation of its school system in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been reviewed by this office...You will alter

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[1] Information for this section is based upon a dissertation written by present Superintendent Dr. James A. Buie, central office files and interviews with district staff, students, parents, and community members.

[2] Goldsboro City Board of Education, "Official Minutes," (May 12, 1965).

[3] Brown vs. Board of Education, 74 SCt 686 (1954) and Brown vs. Board of Education, 75 SCt 753 (1955).

> Section II-A so that it will read as follows: 'Freedom of choice in all grades will be offered for 1966-67. Freedom of choice or geographic attendance areas will be the basis of assigning students starting with the 1967-68 school year and each year thereafter.'[4]

By 1968, about 650 black students were attending formerly all white schools under the freedom of choice plan. The expanded freedom of choice plan also characterized the district's desegregation efforts during the 1968-69 school year. However, in Green vs. Kent County, Virginia (1968),[5] the Supreme Court defined a unitary school system as one "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools," and the Court's Alexander decision (October 1969)[6] set aside its previous "deliberate speed" doctrine, replacing it with a mandate that districts desegregate forthwith. These decisions accompanied by pressures from various agencies of the federal government struck at the inadequacies of freedom of choice plans in reducing segregation in southern schools. In a letter dated January 30, 1968, Lloyd Henderson, Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare stated that unless the Goldsboro City Board of Education took additional steps to dismantle the dual school system, it would be declared in non-compliance with the requirements set forth under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

> Members of my staff indicated to you the areas of probable non-compliance during their recent onsite visit as follows: faculty desegregation, student desegregation, free choice failed to adequately desegregate your dual system, segregated busing patterns, and failure to implement specific assurances.[7]

Community Participation

The receipt of this information led the Goldsboro City Board of Education and Superintendent Jerry Paschal to seek solutions that would comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and desegregate the system without disruption, bitterness or violence. A 30-member Advisory Citizen Committee, representing a cross section of different groups and backgrounds, was formed to explore problems and concerns and to make viable recommendations reflective of the total community. Prominent community members, outspoken critics, and representatives of all racial and economic levels in the city served on this committee. About half of its representation was black. Furthermore, the Board of Education, faculties in all district schools, Parent Teacher Associations, and various community citizen groups held meetings to discuss ways of implementing a change that would create a unitary system but would not polarize the community. Teachers, administrators, parents, and community members attributed much of the success of desegregation processes in Goldsboro to the efforts of the Superintendent and Board of Education in creating forums for interaction and communication and establishing an atmosphere of openness and trust. The opportunities for discussion opened new avenues of communication between blacks and whites who had for generations been separated by an accepted status quo. Much contact was made "with whites and blacks actually going into each other's homes." The following commentaries are illustrative of feelings expressed by black parents and community members.

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[4] Francis Keppel, United States Commissioner of Education, Letter of Correspondence, addressed to Dr. N. H. Shope, Superintendent, Goldsboro City Schools (August 29, 1965).

[5] Green vs. Kent County Board of Education, 88SCt 1689 (1968).

[6] Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education, 1969.

[7] Lloyd R. Henderson, Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights, Letter of correspondence addressed to Jerry Paschal, Superintendent, Goldsboro City Schools, (Janua[illegible], 1968).

> What actually happened was that we decided that we were not going to compromise, but we found out that we were all individuals striving for the same thing. And most of us, I think were very open and we talked it out. This is the one thing that I think helped the Goldsboro City Schools, that these things were actually talked out. We drank coffee, and ate doughnuts, and we talked about the things that bothered us. And I think this is why things have worked out as well as they have here.

> The process was very smooth due to our having a good Board at that time. The Chairman was a liberal man who did believe in equality. When this whole integration process was going on, they had open meetings for the general public. And usually before they acted, they solicited the feelings of both black and white. Private meetings were also held, but these open meetings were very important.

When speaking of factors that made desegregation a success, "need" was cited by one black community member.

> Sometimes to get what you want, you have to tie yourself to another person's need. And I think that is what has happened here. Whites who had to make decisions had a need to comply with the law and to desegregate Goldsboro without the system tearing itself apart. We had a need to see that our children's education would benefit. Together we worked things out.

A black businessman talked about the positive ramifications of open contact where each group's problems could be brought out and everyone could speak. He spoke of a white businessman located on the same street as his business establishment who is a Klansman. "In one meeting, he had his point and he spoke his opinion, and I spoke mine. And we came out of the meeting together, and we shook hands."

White parents and community members spoke no less enthusiastically of the positive results of meetings where free communication took place. When asked how the white community had been involved in desegregation activities, one white businessman replied:

> When there was a law of the land that said you must, and a court order that said you will, then the school administration went to the parents of the community. There were a number of meetings involving parents from all the schools in the system. They got them together to settle why this had to be done and then plan together. The parents felt they were part of the program. They felt like they had a little bit to say about what went on. I think this was the main factor that got us moving in the right direction. Integration wasn't a matter of when, but how.

One white parent stressed the advantage of a small town where people could be thrown together. "We knew each other. It wasn't as if we were strangers." Other parents spoke of being made to feel as if they were a part of the process. "The School Board wasn't just sitting up on a hill. There is a history of parents in the decision making here. We were all a part of it. It made us feel as if the School Board were interested in what we were interested in. So we had a common ground we were walking on. You've got a problem, we've got a problem." One white mother stated:

> One thing that meant so much to me as a mother was that before each individual decision they would call together a group of parents who were interested or who wanted to come, and they would discuss the problem. They would ask advice, opinions. It was open, free discussion. On one particular occasion we went home, and I thought there was no way on earth they could integrate a particular school without making every element of the community unhappy. It just cannot be done. When we returned for the meeting the following week, it was a stroke of genius what those men had come up with. I shall always admire and respect our school board and our city school system for the answers they come up with. It was fair. It might not have been what everyone would have liked, but it was fair.

Parents also spoke of Lay Communications Committees in each of the schools.

> The principal would select people for each school--parents from all economic levels, races, interests, and what have you. The first meetings were just unbelievable. There were people there I had never met. They were afraid; we were afraid. We were parents who were concerned. And at one meeting, seated across the table from me was a black lady who was just as concerned about her child as I was about mine. And that taught me a great deal

> not only about human relations but about spirituality as well. It will be a hundred years before what these people have done will be weighed and judged. People sat across from the table from each other, and were open, honest, and accepting. I'm grateful to the people who permitted this to happen.

Change and Reorganization

After carefully considering recommendations for change and reorganization, on April 10, 1968 the Goldsboro City Board of Education officially adopted a plan that called for only minor revisions in student assignment during the 1968-69 school year, but would completely desegregate grades 6-12 during the 1969-70 school year with freedom of choice maintained for all students in grades 1-5. All students in grades 9-12 were assigned to the predominantly white Goldsboro High School and Goldsboro Junior High School which became integrated high schools. Dillard, the black high school, and Carver, the black middle school, were converted to middle schools for all students in grades 6-8. A modified neighborhood school plan characterized the assignment of students in grades 1-5 so that the elementary school remained predominantly black or all white during the 1969-70 school year. The complete desegregation of grades 6-12 represented significant changes in the long range planning of the Goldsboro City system and called for administrative rearrangements. During 1965, the Board had officially adopted the middle school concept of school organization for grades 6-8 and built a $1,000,000 structure next to the black high school which became Carver Middle School. Goldsboro Junior High School, which was next to the white high school, was to become a middle school for the white students. Many staff members felt, however, that the acceptance of the middle school concept made the total reorganization of the upper grades easier in Goldsboro since the system was already oriented toward organizational change.

On February 20, 1970, Leon E. Panetta. Director for the Office of Civil Rights, notified the Goldsboro City system that it was not in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 due to its failure to desegregate its elementary schools, and it was placed on a deferred list which blocked reception of any new federal funds. However, the system had already actively explored possible plans for the desegregation of the elementary schools. The Citizen's Advisory Committee proposed the creation of an educational park, with new facilities which would not be identified with either black or white neighborhoods. The Board considered such a proposal too costly, while they accepted it in principle, and set a target date of September, 1970 for the desegregation of all elementary schools in the district. In August of 1970, a new desegregation plan was adopted which desegregated all schools in the system except one for the 1970-71 school year. This school remained an all black school housing grades 1-4. Although this plan was not approved by officials of HEW, it was implemented, and the system remained on the deferred list. The plan reflected the system's efforts to have the impact of desegregation shared equally by all white neighborhoods, and to keep the number of whites assigned to each of the schools above 40% of the school population. At that time, the racial balance of the student population in Goldsboro was 46 percent white and fifty four percent black. Seven elementary schools had to be considered in affecting change. Three were all black schools, two were all white schools, and two were predominantly white schools which had achieved some degree of desegregation as a result of the freedom of choice options. Schools were zoned and paired according to district attendance boundaries in order to achieve desegregation. Cross-busing involved about 2000 students. Two of the all black schools were paired with an all white and a predominantly white school. One of the all white schools became an all system fifth grade. The location of the predominantly white school midway between a black and white residential area made it well suited for a neighborhood attendance area to achieve racial balance. One of the all balck schools, School Street School, remained all black with a neighborhood attendance area that reflected its isolation within a large black neighborhood. The fact that the School Street School remained all black allowed the white population in the other elementary schools to be about 50% of the enrollment in each school.

Compliance with Federal Guidelines

During April, 1971, the Goldsboro City Board of Education adopted a plan acceptable to federal officials which called again for the reorganization of the elementary schools and closed two of them, Greenleaf, a school in the black community, and Virginia Street School, an all white school located in a transitional area. By September 1972, through total school and staff reorganization, the Goldsboro City School system had completely desegregated its schools and achieved a unitary system. The reorganization led to the following arrangements in the district schools.

Edgewood School	Grades 1 and 2
Walnut Street School	Grades 1 and 2
William Street School	Grades 1, 2, and 3
East End School	Grades 3 and 4
School Street School	Grade 5
Goldsboro Middle School South	Grades 6 and 7
Goldsboro Middle School North	Grades 7 and 8
Goldsboro High School West	Grade 9
Goldsboro High School East	Grades 10, 11, and 12

With the reorganization, Goldsboro was eligible for E.S.A.P. funds. A guidance counselor, Human Relations Director and a Pupil Assignment Director were hired with these funds. Twenty additional teacher assistants to work in the 4th and 5th grade levels were also hired. Older students, along with a supervising coordinator, were employed to act as safety patrols on corners where crowds gathered due to busing. The Superintendent pointed out, however, that while such funds are very important, their discontinuance in a district leaves a vacuum. Present Title I funding is directed toward a reading program for students in grades 4-8 who are reading 2 years below grade level. Under Title III, a "Community Development

School" serves about 28 severely retarded pupils from the city and county. It is the first such school in North Carolina, and had previously been run by a volunteer Presbyterian group. Due to limitations in funding, the program does not serve about 20 other area children who should be enrolled.

DESEGREGATION ACTIVITIES

The district's adoptions of comprehensive desegregation plans beginning with grades 6-12 during the 1969-70 academic year were accompanied by planned activities reaching out to parents and community members, staff, and students. Fears and opposition to the plans were strong challenges to the preservation of a public school system which might equally serve and represent both blacks and whites.

Members of the Citizens Advisory Committee actively supported the plans, interpreting them to various groups within the community. Churches provided forums for discussion and often heated debate. The district kept the local media fully informed during the desegregation process, and the city newspaper and one local radio station particularly supported the transition.

A series of Human Relations workshops were provided for staff members under the auspices of St. Augustines College in Raleigh and North Carolina State University. These workshops were voluntary, beginning during 1968-69, and continuing during 1969-70 with close to 50% of the staff participating. There was very little arbitrary assignment of staff, and efforts were made to racially balance key administrative positions.

The doors of the four upper grade schools were thrown open on a Sunday afternoon during the spring of 1969 so that students and parents could acquaint themselves with the different buildings and facilities with the hope of eliminating false rumors about poor conditions in the schools. Interchanges involving representatives of Student Councils and Associations of these schools also took place during the spring of 1968, as students worked together on the development of new handbooks. A team of students from the all black middle school visited Goldsboro Junior High School, which was 20% black at that time, and vice versa. Departmental faculty at the middle school and high school levels met to discuss concerns and curricular offerings. Grade level meetings were held for staff at the elementary level.

Reactions to Desegregation

Reactions to desegregation reflected a wide range of opinions. Strong opposition to the plans emerged from fundamentalist churches, giving rise to private schools under their sponsorship. Many whites and blacks who stayed with the public school system in Goldsboro felt that much of the potential for bitter conflict was dissipated when the white opposition simply deserted the school system. One black stated, "The radicals just drained themselves off from the public school into private schools. They withdrew from the system." White flight meant a significant loss of white students in the enrollment of the Goldsboro City Schools. Table I indicates the

TABLE 1

THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF WHITE AND BLACK STUDENTS OF THE GOLDSBORO CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM FROM 1964-65 - 1972-73 *

School Year	White Students	Black Students	Total	% of Whites	% of Blacks
1964-65	4,545	3,931	8,476	54	46
1965-66	4,321	4,116	8,437	51	49
1966-67	4,134	4,125	8,259	50	50
1967-68	4,065	4,198	8,263	49	51
1968-69	3,947	4,172	8,119	49	51
1969-70	3,872	4,367	8,239	47	53
1970-71	3,438	4,375	7,813	44	56
1971-72	2,778	3,802	6,580	42	58
1972-73	2,637	3,792	6,429	41	59

* These data were obtained from statistics prepared by the district and a study entitled "An Investigation and Analysis of Selected Characteristics of Students Who Withdrew from the Goldsboro City Schools System to Attend Independant Schools" by Supt. James A. Buie. Enrollment figures do not include special education students from the Goldsboro area who attend classes in the Goldsboro Schools.

number and percentage of white and black students in the Goldsboro City School system from 1964-65.

The flight of white students from the public schools remains a difficult reality in Goldsboro, and its history is revealing. Between 1962 and 1965, only 33 black students had enrolled in the white schools of Goldsboro. The adoption of freedom of choice plans resulted in 152 black students attending predominantly white schools in 1965-66, 272 in 1966-67, 499 in 1967-68, and 650 during 1968-69.

Table I shows that from 1964-65, the year immediately prior to freedom of choice, to 1968-69, the district lost a total of 598 white students. Surprisingly, the number of white students leaving the district during 1969-70, the year when total desegregation of the upper grades took place, was relatively small, only 75 students. However, during the next year, when all of the elementary schools except one were desegregated, white student enrollment dropped by 434 students. With the 1970-71 reorganization, 660 more white students left the system. An additional drop of 141 students occurred between May, 1972 and September, 1972, bringing the total number of white students leaving the system between 1964 and 1972 up to 1,908 students. During the same years, black student enrollment did not change to any great degree, but the percentage went up.

Where the white students went must be asked. Census figures which show a decrease in the white population of Goldsboro and an increase in rural Wayne County provide some indication that some of the white flight went to the county. A survey conducted by the Goldsboro system on students enrolled for 1971-72 who did not report for 1972-73 showed that most of the students had gone to Wayne County schools or other school districts. However, one of the concomitant effects of desegregation in Goldsboro was the organization of three independent day schools, Faith Christian Academy, Goldsboro Christian School, and Wayne County Day School. These three schools have enrolled many whites formerly enrolled in the Goldsboro City Schools, and they have no black student enrollment. St. Mary's Roman Catholic School, established over fifty years ago, experienced an increase in white student enrollment during desegregation, but this school also has a few black students. The Buie Study showed that 750 of the 1,107 white students leaving the system between 1964 and 1971 enrolled in these independent schools, and these students were average or above in their academic achievement at the time they left the system.

White community members who were interviewed frequently talked of white flight as a major problem and emphasized their own belief in public education. Many of the whites in Goldsboro supported the public schools against much pressure from family and friends, and spoke of difficulties and tensions they experienced when flight from the system characterized the actions of close friends and family relations. Desegregation caused social re-alignments in many instances. A businessman stated, "If you're going to stick with the public schools, and you're going to become involved, you'd better have a steel head and a steel heart, because you're going to get it from both sides." One mother noted that the absence of some whites in the city school system placed a particularly heavy burden on those whites left who would volunteer their time to the schools.

The loss in white student enrollment has hurt the system's morale and financial well being. In North Carolina, the allocation of certain state funds and most state-alloted teachers is based on the average daily attendance of each school unit's students. This has meant a loss in state funds and teachers for the Goldsboro system. Whites who were interviewed stressed that they continue to seek the support of those who oppose the public school's policies by praising the schools when talking to friends, and trying to correct rumors. It was their feeling that there was some movement back to the city schools, but no figures bear this out.

Issues and Concerns

The issues that emerged during desegregation reflected the fears, concerns, and doubts that accompany a change which redefines the social structure within a major institution. Some parents feared having their children attend schools which were located in black neighborhoods.

> -Well, first of all, just going to a school in the black community across town was upsetting. It was something you just had to get used to.
>
> -We just had never gone into the black community before. The hard thing was just going into the community and the building itself.
>
> -You have to change your attitude if you've been with integration a number of years, and have stuck with it and still believe in it. It's done a whole lot to us. I think that we've had to bite our lip, and put on sunglasses and go places that we thought we'd never enter into. I was scared to death the first time I took my child to Middle School and had to leave her there with all those black people I didn't know. Sure we were scared, but I'm a broader thinker, and I have a lot more compassion for a black child than I did before.

Another mother also described her original distress at the thought of sending her child to what had been an all black school prior to desegregation. When the school staff she respected went to that school, however, she sent her child with hesitation. When decisions were later being made to close the school, she was one of the members of a lay communications group fighting to keep it open. Her feelings had thus changed significantly after desegregation and she added, "I am thrilled to death my children have stayed in the public schools when family pressures were saying otherwise."

Busing was also a concern in the white community during desegregation. A white parent stated, "I think people were bitter all over town about having particularly small children bused so far from home where formerly they had been able to walk to school." Some whites expressed the view that black parents also did not like the busing. No blacks expressed this view, however.

Whites also had to adjust to having blacks teach their children. Two administrators felt that many parents seemed more concerned about the morals and mores of individual staff members who would teach their children than credentials. The parents who were interviewed did not express this as a present concern, however, and stated that their children had liked the black teachers they had had since desegregation.

During desegregation, whites also voiced opinions about the possible decline in the quality of education in the system. One mother stated, "We were particularly concerned about the lowering of the educational standards in the schools because of the lesser quality education the blacks had received, and about putting black children together with white children to get black children to come up. We were fearful that this would bring the white children down."

This issue remains an expressed concern among some white parents who were interviewed. However, two studies conducted on student achievement in Goldsboro belie these fears. One study measured the achievement of pupils before and after two years of integration. Conducted cooperatively by the city school district and the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the study analyzed the scores of 406 students who were in the second grade in Goldsboro in 1968-69 and remained through the fifth grade. Their scores on the Stanford Achievement Test (1964 edition) were compared with national norms at five different intervals of time in their school life. Students of both races showed above average growth.

In 1968, the average score for white students was five standard scores below the national norm in reading. At the end of the fifth grade, however, these students closed the gap and their average score was slightly above the national norm for fifth graders. During the same four years, black students were also coming closer to the national norm in reading, gaining 3.2 standard score points above their second grade average. Arithmetic scores also showed gains, but at a slower rate for both groups. The white students gained a 3.1 standard score and the black students gained a 2.9 standard score over the four year period in mathematics.

A second study was also longitudinal, testing 695 children when they entered the second grade in September, 1968 and again during March near the end of their third grade year. This study also showed that, on the whole, children at all ability levels were progressing at a very positive rate of growth. By the time the second test was administered, 107 of the pupils had transferred out of the system. Of those remaining, 191 fewer pupils scored at a low level, 80 more made average scores than had done so previously, and four more children scored high in reading.[8]

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[8] Report by Ethel W. Twiford, Guidance Coordinator, Goldsboro City Schools, "The Goldsboro City School System Reports on Academic Progress in the Primary Grades Since Integration."

For black parents and community members, concerns centered on the potential loss of institutions and traditions which were deeply rooted in their history and daily life in Goldsboro.

When the decline in the district's enrollment led to the decision to close the Greenleaf and Virginia Street Schools, the North End Branch of the Wayne Action Group for Economic Solvency mobilized and strongly opposed the closing of Greenleaf. While it was an old structure, Greenleaf was the center of community life in the black neighborhood where it was located. It served as a meeting place for the Boy and Girl Scouts, civic groups, community groups and churches, as well as night classes for adults. Fund raising socials and other events which brought people together took place at Greenleaf.

The North End WAGES branch became the articulating organ for blacks in that area during this crisis, but has played a lesser role in school affairs since that time. However, it has established adult education programs, provided summer jobs for students, and constructed parks and playgrounds for children. When the black community was assured that the facility would be available for all the activities except regular schooling, they accepted the decision. Today, such activities still take place at the school. A federally funded migrant program with an enrollment of 165 students operates out of Greenleaf as well as the Community Development School with an enrollment of 18 handicapped students, ages 5-18. The City Recreation Department and the North End Branch of WAGES are also housed there.

There was little white opposition to the closing of the Virginia Street School located on the fringes of white and black neighborhoods, which is over fifty years old. During the freedom of choice days, a small number of black children attended this school. Today, the building serves as a headquarters for WAGES, and houses a HEADSTART Program sponsored by WAGES through funding by OCD Region IV, Atlanta, Georgia. Also, the black congregation whose church recently burned is holding meetings in this building. Both structures are thus currently vital to daily life in Goldsboro.

A more symbolic issue among blacks when the upper grade schools merged was the loss of the name Dillard for their high school. The name Goldsboro Senior High School was changed to Goldsboro High School when the black and white high schools merged, and such names as Dillard and Carver were dissolved in the transition. Over the protests of blacks in the community, board members stated that the decision to drop the names was based upon an unwritten law in which schools with names of persons would have to be changed. Dillard had been a minister and well known black leader in the State of North Carolina.

The most active opposition to the dissolution of the high school's name came from the Goldsboro chapter of the fifteen year old Greater Dillard Alumni Association. An unusually strong alumni organization, it is incorporated and national with chapters in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Baltimore. Yearly, the organization provides scholarships for black students and gifts to the school. A ten year project resulted in the purchase of an organ which is now housed in Goldsboro High School. Several awards have been given to white students by the group since the high schools were desegregated. A scoreboard which had been previously purchased for Dillard High

School was sold by the present School Board with alumni permission, and the proceeds were turned over to the physical education department in the desegregated high school.

Members of this group supported the May Homecoming Queen event with five to six hundred Dillard alumni returning each year. This was contrasted to the previous white high school which had no organized alumni group, and where Homecoming was a much less significant event. For such a proud organization, the dissolution of its name within the school system signified a great loss. One member stated, "We realize that three years ago the last person that would graduate in the name of Dillard graduated, and there will be no more Dillard alumni per se. For this reason, we had meetings and we fought for the name of Dillard because we felt it was an identity we wanted to hold onto."

The most recent proposal made to the Board by the alumni group was that the building which housed the former black high school and which now bears the name of Goldsboro Middle School be given the name Dillard Middle School. The Board considered the request, but it was voted down. To some members of the alumni group, this decision reflected a fear causing a reaction among the white community. One member stated, "We have had such a smooth merger, comparatively speaking, that they don't want to do anything to upset the apple cart. And they see this as a small thing." Another felt that "the basic objection of doing anything to bring Dillard into the name of the school is that it would probably make whites dissatisfied. It would make some whites angry, and they would pull out of the school." While the district has not honored the group's request for a school name, it has sought to cooperate with the strong organization. The group has been allowed to use any facility owned by the schools and can go into the high school with applications." The guidance counselors worked with the students in getting them filled out. The teachers worked along with them, and they still cooperate with us in that way." Members of the alumni group are divided in their present views about the school name, however. Some feel it is a past issue while others continue to feel that much dissatisfaction lingers among black community members, and they wish to continue the fight for the return of "Dillard" to Goldsboro City Schools.

Desegregation and the District Staff

Desegregation also called for adjustments among black and white staff members in the district. In many instances, black and white teachers were faced with moving into buildings located in neighborhoods they had rarely or never entered and of teaching children of a different race for the first time in their lives. Principals had to leave buildings they had administered for years.

Desegregation plans were fully discussed at staff meetings in each school. The district gave careful consideration to the matter of staff assignment. Most teachers remained on their grade level, but teachers wishing to switch a grade were allowed to do so if a position were open. During 1969, the Goldsboro system had about an equal number of black and white staff. Administrators worked to divide them among the schools. While some staff members left the system or retired as a result of the rearrangements, there was no mass exodus. One factor contributing to the lack of dissension was that teachers moved to new situations as a staff rather than on an individual basis. Following teacher assignment, principals were reassigned. Principals had not known about their reassignment, and many regretted having to leave the staff they had worked with.

Human relations workshops were held for students, teachers, and all of the administrators. Staff visitations between schools took place. Interviewed teachers cited the strong leadership of the Superintendent during the desegregation process as well as the positive results of having all segments of the community involved for planning purposes. A black teacher stated, "Groups of teachers, groups of students, groups of teachers and students, and groups of parents all met. It was an open communicative process. Everybody had a chance to express himself. Another black teacher felt that a positive theme had permeated the process and added, "There was so much faith in the Superintendent and the steering committee that everyone went into it with positive faith."

Apprehension was felt on both sides, however. Black teachers felt they had been portrayed as coming from inferior schools with inferior materials, and felt a responsibility to prove they could hold their own in any teaching situation. Most of them felt that desegregation definitely improved the conditions under which they were expected to teach. When they talked about the segregated system, they spoke of extra demands being made on their time, and never having such things as "breaks." One teacher felt that the past two years in the desegregated system had been the best she had had in twenty-five years of teaching, and stated there was more pressure placed on black teachers under segregation. A black middle school teacher stated:

> Well, I think the black teacher has had so many things to face in the school in the past. We had to accept the fact that we had any number of grades to teach at one time, 4th through seventh grade. We've had all the problems anyone would be faced with, and I think we were able to accept integration much better than the whites, and are still accepting it much better.

Both black and white teachers also cited the inconvenience of "having to drive across town" after reassignment. For some white teachers, the inconvenience was coupled with a fear of driving through neighborhoods they had always viewed as poverty stricken and as sources of crime. As stated by one teacher, "We had to come through a certain area that we read about in the paper as a place where all the shooting and everything was happening. You feel apprehensive about it. You're concerned about what you hear. It's not the most desirable neighborhood." Fear of these neighborhoods was no longer expressed by the white teachers who were interviewed insofar as driving through them to get to school. However, they still regarded driving a distance an inconvenience.

Overall, the preparation during desegregation focused on facilitating communication and interaction. Interviews with staff members who participated in the human relations workshops had mixed reactions about them. Some felt that they became repetitive. Others felt they could only have limited impact. They did provide initial forums for discussion, however, and in some cases led to more meaningful daily interchanges. Departmental meetings also provided opportunities for interaction. One administrator stated:

> Departments had started to work together to see what was being taught in each of the high schools, and there were two-way visitations within the departments. We understood that we were going to be working together sooner or later. And the sooner we got down to the business of getting what we were going to do, the better. Now if there was any resentment about what we were going to do, it didn't come out at those meetings. In fact, they ran so smoothly that it didn't seem as if we were making a transition. And the teachers had more to do with that than anything else. The Superintendent's Office organized the meetings, and then let us carry on ourselves. If it had looked as if they were forcing things, it might not have been so palatable. The general attitude that prevailed was that this was going to happen, and if you didn't want to get caught out there on a limb, you'd better get together. But they didn't push it.

Another administrator felt department meetings had limited effects on how people related to one another.

> Department meetings didn't get people to intermingle. Business would be conducted and then people would separate. That first year, there was more of a tolerance between people than anything else. There was no open hostility shown. You could just tell how things were during lunch break. The black teachers would get together in the lounge, and the white teachers would get together in the lounge, and there was very little integration before Christmas. Then we organized a bowling team and started bowling together, and the team started getting together at lunch. Things started moving better after that.

Following the human relations workshops, the district provided Glasser Workshops, based upon the text, Schools Without Failure. These workshops explored teacher philosophies, attitudes, and techniques, and allowed for a very practical focus upon instruction. Teachers felt that in some instances these workshops also brought black and white staff members closer to mutual understanding as they discussed common concerns and learned new ways of addressing them in the classroom.

THE STUDENTS OF GOLDSBORO

The dynamics of desegregation in Goldsboro involved purposeful strategies for generating support among community and staff members, but in the final analysis, the students of Goldsboro must be viewed as the central characters in the transition from segregation to desegregation. While some students took part in interschool visitations and projects immediately prior to desegregation, most did not, and must be viewed as the recipients of the change rather than active participants in its formulation. For many of them, the changes were accompanied by anxieties, doubts, and hostilities that had been spawned during years of separation.

Forty black and white students were interviewed separately in small groups by the research team. These students were from Goldsboro Middle School North and both of the high school buildings, and represented a wide range of academic achievement and success in the school system. The interviews provided many insights into the issues that concerned students as a result of desegregation. Black students said they had had mixed feelings about the dismantling of their black schools prior to desegregation. While their parents spoke to them of better educational opportunities with desegregation, the students themselves were concerned about the status they would have in the newly merged schools. A few of them who had attended Goldsboro Junior High School under the freedom of choice plan spoke of having felt shunned by their white classmates at that time. One girl stated, "Before I came to this school, I was at Goldsboro Junior High, and there were only two blacks in my classroom, and we felt totally outcast. We were allowed to partcipate, but they kind of shunned us away. But when the schools became integrated, those people who had shunned us away began to try to be my friends. You could just tell the difference."

Black students' main fear focussed on their ability to achieve in a desegregated school. Black teachers in the segregated schools generally impressed upon them the need to "adjust" and to learn how to get along with white students. Some teachers gave the black students the impression that white students were smarter than blacks. Three of the black students made the following comments.

> We were expecting them to be geniuses. You know, we were told that when the white kids came to class, we shouldn't say anything, just work. But they can be just as dumb as anyone else. Just as dumb and just as much trouble.
>
> Just before the schools were integrated, I was in the sixth grade. And the next year, the school was going to be integrated. So the teacher used to tell us 'y'all better come on and get on the ball because you don't want those white kids to be showing you up,' like the white kids were so smart, you know. And like we were so dumb.

> They were always saying that white kids were smart because they had better facilities, more books, and everything.

When black students compared their experiences in the desegregated setting to those in the all black schools, most of them stated that they had felt more comfortable in the all black schools. Much of this had to do with the sense of recognition and attention they had received from the teachers. They generally felt that they had found it easier to learn because teachers took more time to explain things to them in the all black schools. One boy stated, "Even if black kids are smart and come to integrated schools, they still need teachers to pay attention to them."

The students stated that they felt that black teachers in the formerly black schools did not show favoritism toward students from higher social backgrounds. In contrast, they stated that in the desegregated schools both black and white teachers appear to give more attention to students whose parents are of a higher social class, giving inadequate attention to students from poor families. In their opinion, this caused many lower class students to lose interest in school.

In dealing with their peers and with teachers in the desegregated setting, black students continually referred to the need for respect. Quite often they would state, "it seems like all white people think blacks are dumb." They were also bothered by instances where black teachers were overly tolerant of white students' misbehavior, and were treated with disrespect by the white students. Their feelings about white teachers varied with individual teachers, but they felt that some gave preferential treatment to whites.

Most of the white students' concerns grew out of actual fear of association with large numbers of blacks. Students who were in the middle school when the upper grades had been desegregated told of hearing stories about white students being beaten up by blacks at the high schools.

> When we were in the eighth grade, every day we'd hear these terrible stories - somebody's getting murdered in the hall. None of this was ever true, but it just got blown up to be. So we came over here wondering what was going to happen to us, and nothing ever did. Of course, we had plenty of fighting going on in our own school, but somehow it was the stories that got to us.

When total desegregation did occur, much fighting did take place between black and white students. White students spoke to the interviewers of black groups ganging up on whites, and the black students spoke of white students ganging up on blacks. However, the fights were stressed more by the white students who were interviewed. Relaxed tensions and strict disciplinary measures against fighting have greatly reduced the number of fighting incidents in Goldsboro schools, however. Both black and white students feel that very few fights occur anymore. One white high school student stated that a lot of the fear that white students had at the time of of desegregation was caused by over-reacting to things. "If someone in the hall pushed you, it got to be racial," claimed one white student. Another white student stated:

> Well, this was before everyone knew each other real well. And you know, with the smarties of both groups, black and white, there's gonna be trouble at first anyway. But I believe the majority of blacks and whites who caused trouble are gone from this school now.

The school district sought to ensure adequate representation of both blacks and whites on Student Councils or Associations in the upper grades by having a black and white representative from each homeroom. These might serve together or alternate, depending upon the school's policy. Situations which were based upon open choice or election provided some difficulties. Cheerleading at the high school was a problem until a rule was set that there would be six black and six white cheerleaders. This is interpreted by some white students as being unfair, however, as the choice is not based solely upon ability.

At the formerly white high school, "Stunt Night" had been a tradition involving original skits by the competing classes. The first year of desegregation, it remained a nearly all white activity, and black students were upset because what was involved had not been explained to them. Today black and white students equally participate in the competition, and both groups identified the activity as an example of when separation between the races had broken down.

In the selection of the Homecoming Queen at the high school, nominations of both black and white candidates come from the Student Council which has equal black and white representation. The total student bodies of both high school buildings vote for the queen. During the first year of desegregation, the Homecoming Queen was black, the second year, white, and the last two years black. White students feel that this is because black students are now in the majority.

Only two major instances of conflict were cited by the students after desegregation took place. Tensions and hostilities rose to the surface one day at the high school when derogatory statements about blacks had been painted on the high school steps the night before. This caused a walkout by some of the black students and some fighting among students. Tempers calmed after a day, however.

The other incident occurred when the white Band Director was attacked by black students (reportedly not students in the Goldsboro system) at a night football game. Although black students from the Band came to his rescue, the incident touched off fighting at the game, and some groups of black students caused disturbances in the town. The School Board considered suspending all night games. However, black students appeared before the Board with the assurance that no such disturbances would occur again, and that problems would be resolved peacefully in the future. Because of their appearance, night games were not suspended, but stricter regulations were imposed.

These instances briefly provide some insight into the nature of student concerns as they came together in a desegregated setting. Although the data which has been presented is not exhaustive, it should provide a broad sketch of the Goldsboro City School system as it moved through a difficult period of change. A fuller description of student interaction and attitudes after desegregation will be presented in Part III.

PART III

THE OUTCOME OF DESEGREGATION

GOLDSBORO TODAY

SCHOOL AND STAFF RACIAL BALANCE

By September, 1972, desegregation had been achieved in all Goldsboro schools and the district was ready to address itself to the challenge of providing quality education in these schools. While statistics alone cannot reflect the quality of education or interaction in a desegregated setting, they do reveal a district's initial efforts to achieve racial balance, and they provide some indications of the possibilities for equal status in such settings. Table 2 shows the statistical results of the district's reorganization in terms of the number and percentages of black and white students and teachers in each of the district schools, and the number of black or white administrators in each school. (See Table 2 next page.)

In light of the district student ratio of 59% black and 41% white, Table 2 shows that each school closely approximates this ratio, and is thus racially balanced. The largest differences are in the William Street and Edgewood Schools where there are 6% differences from the district ratio.

Staffing patterns also show an almost equal number of whites and blacks in most schools, and administrative positions have been equally distributed among blacks and whites. At the central office level, the Superintendent is white and there are two Assistant Superintendents, one white and one black. The Guidance Director is black, and the audio visual coordinator and Title I Director are white. The district's Follow Through Program is staffed by seven teachers, three black and four white. The present Board has four whites and three blacks. This Board is appointed by the County Board, but the nominations of the Superintendent have never been questioned. It is probable that in the near future, the Goldsboro Board of Education will be elected by vote rather than appointed. Some blacks feel that changing to an elected Board is a white strategy. One business man stated:

> They sold us the idea of having an elected Board--choose your own man--but you need money to get votes and most blacks will have to depend on white money. And if they put up the money, they'll dictate the program. It's just not as glossy as it looks to have an elected board.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Figures of the racial breakdown of all classes at the elementary level show no white or all black classes, and except for a few instances, classes reflect the total school ratios. In terms of numbers, students are thus provided with ample opportunities to interact in their classes with members of a different race. The fifteen educable and two trainable special education classes are predominantly black, and two of them are all black. The district provides speech therapy services, guidance services, health services, as well as psychological and social services.

Reading specialists and teacher assistants are utilized in the elementary grades to assist teachers in giving more individual help to students. The teacher assistants are an integrated group and in most cases a teacher will

TABLE 2

STUDENT AND STAFF RACIAL COMPOSITION IN GOLDSBORO CITY SCHOOLS 1972-73 *

	Students				Teachers				Administrators	
	Number		Percentage		Number		Percentage		Number	
School	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
William Street	634	339	65	35	17	15	53	47	0	1
Edgewood	183	163	53	47	6	7	46	54	1	0
Walnut Street	160	100	62	38	4	5	44	56	1	0
East End	224	150	54	46	10	9	54	46	0	1
School Street	362	220	62	39	8	10	44	56	0	1
Goldsboro Middle School South	452	352	56	44	18	13	59	41	1	1
Goldsboro Middle School North	496	358	58	42	14	18	43	57	1	1
Goldsboro High School West	351	236	60	40	10	12	45	55	0	1
Goldsboro High School East	929	720	56	44	22	28	44	56	2	1
Totals	3792	2637	59	41	109	117	48	52		

* The above figures represent a total student enrollment of 6429. Not included are 140 special education students from the Goldsboro area, most of whom are black. They bring the system wide enrollment up to 6569.

have an assistant of a different race. Twenty-one Follow Through classes provide special programs to meet individual student needs. Diagnostic testing in reading and mathematics occurs for grades three, four, and five during the second week of school, and teachers use results to individualize instruction for the students. Reading readiness tests are given to Goldsboro first graders during the fall, and third and fourth graders take achievement tests in mathematics and reading during the spring.

Race and sex are taken into consideration when students are assigned to elementary classes, so that they are balanced in these respects. Classes are grouped heterogeneously in terms of ability, but teachers regroup homogeneously within their classes for reading and mathematics. Both black and white teachers state that regrouping results in segregated patterns.

No particular groupings are used for social studies or art and music which are taught by regular teachers. It is the policy of the district to have students alternate between black and white teachers. In some instances, two teachers operate as a team, and in these cases, one is usually black and one is white.

Recent Glasser workshops have focussed much effort on instructional techniques for students with divergent abilities. In the elementary classes which were observed, instruction varied greatly, but methods were related to individualization and continuous progress techniques. Modified team teaching and small group activities appeared to be characteristic methods. Advanced classes are provided for gifted students, and crafts classes for underachievers. These classes are racially mixed.

In the observed classes, whether student seating was prescribed by the teacher or by free choice, students were in racially mixed groups. Friendly interaction between black and white students was observed in classrooms and on playgrounds. Both black and white teachers also spoke of friendships and home visits among black and white children. Classrooms were attractive with carpeted interest areas in many cases, rich with a variety of materials. Reading labs were well equipped and were comfortably arranged to provide a pleasant atmosphere.

Both black and white teachers spoke of their difficulties in teaching students with widely ranging needs and abilities. Many of the children having the most difficulty are black, and teachers cited the poor backgrounds of these students as a major factor in their academic problems. Some felt the district's Follow Through Program was helpful, but most teachers indicated that somehow more had to be done throughout the elementary years. With classes that average thirty to thirty-five students, teachers felt they weren't able to spend enough time with children who needed much daily help in the classroom. While aides assist teachers in many classes, the burden of instruction falls on the teacher. Although the teachers appear to be optimistic about the children they teach, some expressed frustration at the slow progress of some students.

What was most lacking in the elementary program in Goldsboro was a planned and consistent integration of multi-ethnic topics into the curriculum. While some basal texts have pictures portraying different ethnic groups, black teachers felt that their stories about black families are highly contrived, and black children cannot identify with them. Pictures and posters on bulletins and walls in some classrooms reflected a concern for ethnicity, but a variety of multi-ethnic materials does not exist, and conscious efforts are not being made to initiate change in this area.

CLASSROOM DESEGREGATION AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES IN THE UPPER GRADES

In this study, classroom desegregation in the upper grades is examined as a factor which reveals academic status positions between black and white students in terms of the levels of classes to which they are assigned. Also revealed is the extent to which possibilities for classroom interaction between blacks and whites exist as reflected in the racial balance of such classrooms.

Goldsboro Middle School North

At Goldsboro Middle School North, 59% of the students are black and 41% white. Students are grouped homogeneously according to test scores and teacher recommendations. In mathematics and language arts, this results in four coded groupings: G-high, M-middle, S-low, C-very low. Social studies and science break down into two grouping levels. The effects of grouping on classroom racial balance for students in the eighth grade are illustrated in Tables 3-6. Table 3 shows that the highest percentages of black students in the language arts area are in the low and very low groupings. Conversely, the majority of the white students are in the middle to high academic groupings.

The picture is similar for the 8th grade mathematics classes at Goldsboro Middle School North. The majority of the black students are in low and very low homogeneous groupings while the highest percentages of white students can be found in the middle to high level classes. Table 4 shows the breakdown for each of the mathematics classes.

Social studies and science classes break down into two levels: high-middle and low. While black students are certainly represented in the upper level classes, the largest percentages of black students in both social studies and science are found in the lower level classes. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate the ratios for each of the social studies and science classes.

Physical education classes are balanced at Middle School North as well as Beginning Band and Advanced Band classes. One hundred and five black students and eighty-eight white students are enrolled in the band. Interviews with white parents revealed that there has been a conscious effort by whites to integrate the band at this level so that the present situation of a nearly all black high school band will be changed in the very near future. Close to 80% of the students have elected to take a career education course offered at the middle school, and these classes are racially balanced.

An intramural program exists at the school for boys and girls, but students who participate in it are predominantly black. The school is the

TABLE 3

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Language Arts Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Language Arts G	34	7	41	17
	30	11	41	27
	21	18	39	46
Language Arts GM	18	16	34	49
	18	17	35	49
	15	20	35	59
	14	19	33	60
	4	9	13	70
Language Arts S	8	22	30	73
	6	18	24	75
	6	20	26	77
	6	21	27	78
	5	22	27	81
	4	19	23	83
	4	23	27	85
Language Arts C	7	13	20	65
	4	19	23	83
Reading S	9	13	22	59
	4	15	19	79
	3	13	16	81
	0	16	16	100
Reading Lab	3	7	10	70
	3	8	11	73
	3	8	11	73
	3	9	12	75
	2	9	11	82
	2	9	11	82
	2	10	12	83
	2	11	13	85
	2	11	13	85
	1	7	8	88
	1	9	10	90
	1	9	10	90
	1	10	11	91
	1	11	12	92
	0	10	10	100

G - High   M - Middle   S - Low   C - Very Low

TABLE 4

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Mathematics Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Mathematics G	31	3	34	9
	34	6	40	15
Mathematics GM	20	16	36	44
Mathematics M	21	14	35	40
	19	15	34	44
	18	17	35	49
	18	18	36	50
	17	19	36	52
Mathematics S	9	21	30	70
	9	23	32	72
	8	23	31	74
	8	24	32	75
	6	23	29	79
	7	26	33	79
Mathematics C	8	23	31	74
	7	25	32	74
	7	25	32	78
	6	25	31	81

G - High   M - Middle   S - Low   C - Very Low

TABLE 5

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Social Studies Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Social Studies GM	21	2	23	9
	22	15	37	41
	21	16	37	43
	19	15	34	44
	19	15	34	44
	19	16	35	46
	15	15	30	50
	18	18	36	50
	17	19	36	53
	12	18	30	60
Social Studies S	3	23	26	64
	8	24	32	75
	6	26	32	81
	6	26	32	81
	6	26	32	81
	5	24	29	83
	4	28	32	88

GM - Middle-High   S - Low

TABLE 6

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Science Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Science GM	25	2	27	7
	25	3	28	11
	13	2	15	13
	19	6	25	24
	22	8	30	27
	25	12	37	32
	18	9	27	33
	13.	22	35	63
	9	25	34	74
Science S	9	23	32	72
	8	22	30	73
	6	24	30	80
	6	26	32	81
	4	27	31	87
	3	28	31	90
	2	29	31	94

GM - Middle-High S - Low

former Dillard High School and is located in a black community. White students are bused in, and teachers and administrators felt that the lack of white participation in after-school sport activities is the necessity for parents to pick the students up after school. This view was also expressed by white students who spoke with some regret of the transportation problem. One boy stated:

> I lost out in after-school activities cause I live six miles from here, and I have to ride a bus. And usually my mother doesn't come pick me up unless I stay after school for something. So I miss all the intramural sports that are held after school.

When walking through the halls of Goldsboro Middle School North, one gets a definite impression of the separation of the races. A corridor separating two wings serves as a gathering place for black students, and outside the building during lunch periods students gather in groups that are almost all white or all black. In the cafeteria, students sit with their own race except for a few individuals. Ethnic groups also fell into sections of the cafeteria so that one side and along the back was black, and the front and the other side was white. Students pointed this fact out and stated that blacks and whites almost never mingled at lunch. They didn't feel that this was due to any open hostility, however. One white student stated:

> I'm friends with a lot of black people, but my best friends are white, and usually you want to sit with them and talk with them while you eat lunch. It's not a conscious thing about - hey I want to sit with him, he's white, you know. It's 'I wanna sit with this guy because he's my friend'.

Both the black and white students who were interviewed spoke of interracial friendships they had with particular individuals, but rarely were these friendships continued after school hours. Some of the whites felt that their black friends behaved differently when they were in a group with blacks.

> We don't have any trouble except when she gets with her friends and they don't like her being around a white girl. We get along real well when we're by ourselves. She tells me her problems. I think she trusts me more than some of her black friends.

> When he's around me, he's real nice, but when he's with his friends, he's different. It's strange.

The black students at the Middle School felt that whites in a group give the impression of ignoring blacks.

> There is not much mixing between the white students and blacks because most of them don't want to have anything to do with you. They think they are better than you are.

> Sometimes if you are a friend of a white girl, and you speak to them, sometimes they will speak to you and sometimes they won't.

Except for intramurals, there are no after-school activities. Black students felt this was because white students wouldn't come due to transportation problems. There is a Student Council with two representatives from each homeroom, one black and one white, who serve alternate semesters. The representatives elect a president each semester. During the 1972-73 school year, the president had been white the first semester, and one of his best friends, a black student, was elected president the second semester.

The students did not feel that school activities brought them together with the exception of a stocking drive at Christmas where they described great participation by all students, black and white. The whites also indicated that they felt less secure around blacks as they got older, especially if they were threatened. They added, however, that they thought that blacks and whites who start going to school together from the first grade are much better off. "We were just thrown together. All of a sudden, go to school together. We'll bus you eight miles, and you go to school together."

In a separate section of the Middle School, three teachers operate as a team with 94 students divided into top, middle, and bottom groups. The classes meet in three spacious, open, carpeted rooms: one for mathematics and science, one for language arts, and the third for social studies. The rooms are very attractive, and the atmosphere seems relaxed. Students sit where they want at tables arranged around the room. They are assigned to groups on the basis of performance on achievement tests and teacher recommendations. During a visit to the rooms, an interviewer noted that students, for the most part sat with students of their own ethnic group. There were many instances of friendly interaction between black and white students, however.

Data on student ratios in the classrooms of Goldsboro Middle School North reveal some degree of segregation in academic subjects where the majority of the black students are assigned to lower level classes. Equal status relationships in terms of academic assignment is not yet a reality, and this has an effect upon the nature of relationships and attitudes that develop. Many staff members are aware of this problem. Equally lacking, however, is a curriculum conceptualized to help erase myths and provide an initial basis for recognizing the nature of the black experience in the United States. Neither black nor white students at Goldsboro Middle School North could talk about anything they had learned in the classroom about the black experience or the contributions of blacks as a consistent part of history. One white student felt that black students didn't like it if you talked about blacks. Another white student said:

> I don't remember talking about anything. We didn't observe anything about Black History Week; I wouldn't have known it existed unless I had already known. There isn't any emphasis at all. We just study North Carolina.

TABLE 7

Goldsboro High School West
Ninth Grade English Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
English	27	9	36	25
	20	8	28	29
	19	16	35	46
	18	16	34	47
	16	15	31	48
	16	15	31	48
	9	9	18	50
	16	16	32	50
	15	17	32	53
	11	23	34	68
	10	21	31	68
	8	19	27	70
	9	23	32	72
	7	20	27	74
	9	26	35	74
	8	25	33	76
	7	24	31	77
	3	12	15	80
	5	21	26	81
	0	14	14	100
Reading	4	17	21	81
	5	22	37	81

Staff members told the interviewers that a prescribed state curriculum existed in social studies. In 7th grade, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands are covered. North Carolina, and the United States heritage is covered in the eighth grade. Some staff members seemed to feel that the use of a prescribed curriculum excluded the possibilities for considering elements of black history. The school library of 9,000 volumes is also lacking in books which relate to the black experience. The library contains the Negro Heritage Library Collection, about twelve books on black history, a few biographies, and a series of booklets focusing on true stories of blacks in various careers. The librarian stated that neither teachers nor students used the books that were available, and her requests to teachers for suggestions got no responses.

The data presented indicates some areas for concern at Goldsboro Middle School North. One has to remember, however, how far this school has come in its efforts to achieve desegregation and to recognize the needs of both black and white students. Nevertheless, the tasks that now exist are equally as difficult as those which set the present situation in motion.

Goldsboro High School East and West

English classes are not rigidly grouped for ninth graders at Goldsboro High School West. Students taking Latin and French end up in the same classes due to scheduling, however, and only 15 of the 87 students electing a foreign language are black. Table 7 shows that the classroom breakdown of blacks and whites in ninth grade English classes varies considerably. One class is totally black, and the reading classes are predominantly black.

The English program at Goldsboro High School East consists of many nine-week elective courses. Levels exist within this elective program, however, and while students may select courses they want, a tracking system is operating in actuality. An examination of the results of student assignment for the first nine weeks of the 1972-73 academic year revealed about 15 classes which were all or nearly all black or white. Two of these classes were entitled, "Negro Writers," a course which whites have traditionally avoided. Very little about blacks is covered in other English offerings, and the teacher of the "Negro Writers" elective felt that this 9-week elective was an inadequate survey of black literature. Interviews with teachers and administrators revealed that other instances of segregation in English classes reflected the fact that either by choice or teacher recommendation, black students were consistently electing to take less demanding courses.

As would be expected, mathematics classes in the two high schools reflect the grouping patterns established at the middle schools with the majority of whites in the more advanced classes. Table 8 on p.443 illustrates that most of the black students in the ninth grade are in General Math classes while most of the white students are in Algebra classes. Table 9 on p.444 reveals that while many of the High School East mathematics classes are well integrated, few black students are found in Advanced Math or advanced Algebra

TABLE 8

Goldsboro High School West
Ninth Grade Mathematics Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
General Math	9	13	22	59
	10	20	30	67
	6	22	32	69
	8	20	28	71
	8	21	29	72
	7	19	26	73
	6	18	24	75
	7	22	29	76
	3	11	14	79
	5	19	24	79
	5	24	29	83
	0	14	14	100
Algebra Preparation	13	13	26	50
	13	15	28	54
	11	17	28	61
	8	16	24	67
	7	18	25	72
Algebra I	14	5	19	26
	16	6	22	27
	15	7	22	28
	12	6	18	33
	16	8	24	33
Algebra IA	17	2	19	11
	16	2	18	11

Algebra I and IA use the same book, but IA is more accelerated.

TABLE 9

Goldsboro High School East
Grades 10-12 Mathematics
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Intermediate Math	19	3	22	14
	14	26	40	65
	6	15	21	71
	6	19	25	76
	5	17	22	77
	5	28	33	85
	4	26	30	87
	4	28	32	88
	4	31	35	89
Consumer Math	6	15	21	71
Advanced Math A	16	3	19	16
Advanced Math B	29	1	30	3
	21	5	26	19
Algebra Preparction	4	8	12	66
Algebra I	19	8	27	30
	18	13	31	42
	16	13	29	45
	15	14	29	48
	9	19	38	50
	13	14	27	52
	10	18	28	64
Algebra II	21	3	24	13
	26	6	32	18
	21	7	28	25
	17	6	23	26
	26	10	36	28
	23	9	32	28
	15	7	22	32
Geometry	24	8	32	25
	26	9	35	26
	19	7	26	27
	21	12	33	36
	17	10	27	37
	20	12	32	44
	11	10	21	48
Calculus	11	1	12	8

and Calculus classes.

Science classes are heterogeneously grouped at the ninth grade level and Table 10, p.446 indicates that this results in classroom integration. Table 11, p.447 shows that at High School East, Biology classes are for the most part well balanced racially, but few blacks are found in Advanced Biology, Chemistry, or Physics courses.

Students are not tracked at either high school in the social studies area and most classes in both buildings are well integrated. Civics and geography are offered to ninth graders. At High School East, a year of U.S. Heritage is required and a few electives are offered. One of these electives is black history with two classes totaling 51 black students. This course is divided into topical sections, the first being an African Heritage unit. Conditions and life styles in early Africa are explored followed by the period of contact with Europeans and Arabs, the beginning of the slave trade, and an analytical study of the institution of slavery. This is followed by a unit entitled "Age of Accommodation" which covers the period from Booker T. Washington to the Harlem Renaissance. The final unit is entitled "Black Awareness" where the various aspects of the Civil Rights movement are studied and compared to the black revolutionary movement. The teacher of this course pointed out that very little about blacks is covered in the regular curriculum, and "Black History made the students more aware of the missing links." He did feel, however, that "there is more of a trend here to incorporate more and more black history into the mainstream, but teachers are not qualified to do a good job." He cited a mini-course in his department called "Famous Persons" where a lot of blacks are mentioned.

The teacher of the black history course stated that since the course was first offered at the time of desegregation, only four white students has enrolled. He added that he had learned from the mother of one of these students during the first year of desegregation that school administrators at that time had tried to discourage her daughter from taking the course. The teacher added:

> I think as far as black history is concerned, the white community, or at least the whites of influence tend to think of it as a race history, a racist history rather than an intellectual pursuit. I try to instill a sense of race pride, but at the same time, I'm trying to fill a void in American History because our contemporary teachers and textbooks just don't have it in there at all.

Black students resent the fact that white students do not have to learn about black history. One girl stated:

> I enjoy the course because it has made me aware of the things that ordinarily I would never have become aware of like black contributors. What I wish is that some of the white kids would take it. In the first of the year we had a few whites in the class, and the next day they were out. Why? I don't know. If they would take it, they would respect us more. It would show them that we have come

TABLE 10

Goldsboro High School West
Grade 9 Science Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Science	14	7	21	33
	17	11	28	39
	16	17	33	52
	15	16	31	52
	16	17	33	52
	14	18	32	56
	13	18	31	58
	12	19	31	61
	10	17	27	63
	11	19	30	63
	11	20	31	65
	10	20	30	67
	10	21	31	68
	9	21	30	70
	9	22	31	71
	8	20	28	71
	8	22	30	73
	6	23	29	79

TABLE 11

Goldsboro High School East
Grades 10-12 Science
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Biology	23	6	29	21
	22	7	29	24
	18	11	29	38
	16	12	28	43
	14	15	29	52
	13	15	28	54
	14	18	32	56
	11	14	25	56
	10	13	23	57
	13	17	30	57
	11	19	30	63
	7	13	20	65
	9	19	28	68
	9	19	28	68
	8	18	26	69
	2	5	7	71
	7	19	26	73
Advanced Biology	21	1	22	5
Physical Science	13	20	33	61
Chemistry	21	4	25	16
	30	6	36	16
	24	5	29	17
	14	9	23	39
Physics	15	0	15	0

> from somewhere and we are going somewhere.

One black student also complained that many of the black students do not take the course seriously.

> The thing that struck me is that in my class everyone in there is just taking it like an extra course. They don't have any enthusiasm over it. They just get in there and hope that the teacher passes out a passing grade. And it is kind of hard for me to go in there and want to do my best when the others are just goofing off. They just take it as a fifth course, but actually it is a hard course.

Tables 12,p.449 and 13,p.449 show that health and physical education classes are well integrated for both boys and girls at Goldsboro High School West. This is equally true at the East building. Music activities at the East building are predominantly black. The Mixed Chorus has 56 black students and 13 white students, and the Touring Choir consists of 69 black students and nine white, and the Choral Director is black. After desegregation, the Goldsboro High School Band became an all black activity under the direction of the black director who had led the band at Dillard. This director has left the system for a college position, however, and the present director is white. For the 1972-73 academic year, the roster of 60 band members included 15 white students. The Band has two white and six black majorettes. Members of High School East's Drama Club and newspaper staff are mostly white.

Each of the Goldsboro High Schools has football, basketball, and baseball teams, and at each of the schools the footbal team is integrated, the basketball team is mostly black, and the baseball team is white. The football team has a white coach, the basketball team a black coach, and the baseball team a white coach. When asked about the composition of the basketball team, white students interviewed stated at first that it was simply a sport for blacks more than whites. When pressed, however, they stated that some whites would like to go out for the team, but it had been too strongly identified with the blacks. One student said,

> To me, and talking among the white guys, you know, we have a lot that could play. But they feel it's a black game. They let all these black guys run around them with talk that basketball is a black game, and they don't go out. They won't have nothing to do with it.

Other students stated that they avoided trying out for the team because they feared they wouldn't play as well as the blacks, or for fear of being "hassled" by the blacks on the team or by their white peers.

When questioned about the composition of the baseball team, some of the black students also stated that some blacks had wanted to go out for the team, but were ignored at tryouts and felt they would be left out of key positions. One black student stated, "Ever since this school has been

TABLE 12

Goldsboro High School West
Girls Ninth Grade Health and Physical Education Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Health and Physical Education	13	18	31	31
	16	15	31	48
	14	14	28	50
	13	16	29	55
	13	18	31	58
	12	22	34	65
	10	25	35	71
	10	26	36	72
	8	24	32	75
	6	21	27	78

TABLE 13

Goldsboro High School West
Boys Ninth Grade Health and Physical Education Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Health and Physical Education	13	14	27	52
	8	9	17	53
	15	18	33	55
	12	15	27	56
	12	15	27	56
	10	14	24	58
	8	12	20	60
	11	18	29	62
	13	23	36	64
	11	20	31	65

integrated there have been nothing but whites on the team. I went out for baseball last year and they acted like they just didn't want us to play."

Both black and white students felt that football was an experience that brought blacks and whites together on the field, but friendships did not continue after games. Other sports which break down along racial lines are track which is mostly black and tennis which is white.

There are no intramurals or girls sports. Cheerleading has six blacks and six whites according to regulation.

At each of the high schools, Student Council representation consists of a black and a white representative from each of the homerooms. The Council elects its own officers, and these are usually balanced between whites and blacks. Class officers are mostly black, and white students feel that this reflects the fact that the school has a majority black population. When questioned if they felt if students voted along racial lines, the white students felt that it was happening less now than in the past. One student stated, "I think if you don't know a person, you might do that, but if you know them I think most students vote for who is the best candidate." The schools also have Human Relations Committees with black-white representation.

The schools sponsor few social functions. The Homecoming Dance, Christmas Dance, and Class Dances are attended by both black and white students, but whites don't attend other dances that are held.

Seating patterns are segregated in the cafeterias of both schools, but there are instances where individual black and white students intermingle. Both black and white students who were interviewed spoke of few close friendships with individuals of a different race, and emphasized the separateness that exists after school hours. Few whites had had black friends at their homes, and most spoke of the fact that their parents would not approve of this. Blacks stated that they felt that whites were afraid of coming into their neighborhoods.

While much evidence of racial separation exists in the upper grades of the Goldsboro schools, it must be examined with the recognition that these black and white students have been separated for most of their lives, and in spite of the fact that the district had expended much effort to bring them together in an atmosphere absent from conflict and hostility, barriers are not easily eliminated. Nevertheless, some barriers have broken down, and the frankness that characterizes the following two statements by white students captures the realities of their feelings as they struggled with a new situation.

> About the fifth grade before we desegregated, I didn't know much about them, you know, just what I'd heard and how they start a lot of trouble and everything. And now that I've been with them in school for three or four years, I can see that a lot of them are like that. But there are also those who come to school to learn, and not to cause trouble. And I'm glad I've had a chance to see that.

> When I was in fifth grade and they were gonna start [desegregation]

> I was scared and everything. I didn't want to have anything to do with them. And then I learned to know them better, and after I got kicked a few times and started to shut my mouth to them, I got along with them. And ever since then I've been pretty good friends with them.

TEACHERS AND PARENTS

At the elementary level, teachers who were interviewed spoke often of friendship and interaction among staff members. They talked of open and good natured joking between blacks and whites, working closely together on instructional matters, and some after school socializing. A sense of separateness was more apparent at the upper grade level. However, this could reflect the fact that there seemed to be less opportunity for any of the teachers, black or white, to share ideas during the school day. Only one of the teachers interviewed in the upper grade schools spoke of socializing with another staff member of a different race after school hours.

Parent committees at the various schools are much less active than they were during the height of desegregation activities, and black representation is low. Black parents who were interviewed, however, spoke of their satisfaction with the schools, but voiced concern over the fact that so many black students continue to have serious academic problems in the Goldsboro schools. Their continual emphasis was on the need to find ways to narrow the gap between white and black student achievement.

White parents, while supporting in philosophy the district's desegregation efforts, were frank in their feelings that too much preoccupation with the problems of black students fostered a neglect of the white student. One white parent stated:

> I'm more concerned now than I was before because I thought that we had the facilities in the schools and the know-how to make this a workable situation and to really educate the blacks for the better. But I personally am more concerned because mine are going backward.

Many white parents also expressed concern over the language commonly used by the black students which was quickly picked up by the white students. Some resented their children being exposed to this language. But other white parents felt this was not an important concern. Undercurrents of discontent thus exist among white parents. But generally, their feelings about Goldsboro schools today continue to reflect positive support.

FINAL IMAGES

One final measure of the successes of desegregation in Goldsboro is the extent to which those it has affected continue to believe in its advantages. The following commentaries are illustrative of positive and very personal outcomes of the district's efforts, and they reflect the hopes of the future.

> I personally feel and have felt from the beginning that our children have to learn to live in a real world, not a white world. Whether we like it or not, our country is changing in this respect and beginning to recognize the other half of our population and give them full rights as citizens. Our children have to learn to live in this world. We didn't. It's not our fault we didn't. We were never allowed to. This is my main reason for believing in integration. Plus I think the black community has a lot to offer us spiritually and culturally. Different, yes, but something to offer, and we have to find out what it is and make it an integral part of the community.
>
> (white parent)

> There is no denying that integration was viewed with mixed feelings by some of us. Yes, we had been told that materials and facilities were better in white schools, and that our children would benefit. But we had a feeling for our schools. We had gone through them, and we had a certain pride in what they meant to our community. But we know that our children must learn to compete in a white world, and they must have every advantage. And I feel that integration is going to bring this about.
>
> (black parent)

> We may still have lots of fights and disagreements, but when we graduate and go out into the real world, it's gonna be black and white and different kinds of races. And at least we've had a chance to learn about that now.
>
> (white student)

> Integration has given us a chance to see that whites aren't better than we are. I think that the better facilities and more materials will help us achieve more in the future.
>
> (black student)

Desegregation in Goldsboro, North Carolina, was a drama of change involving a very complex network of actions and reactions. The description presented in this report evolved from written material and the words of those closely involved or affected. The report is not exhaustive, and there are many in Goldsboro whose perceptions are not reflected. This is especially true of lower class whites and lower class blacks. Nevertheless, the thrust of the report documents the commitment and widespread efforts of the district staff and the community to affect change through processes that allowed the voices of disparate elements of the community to be heard.

In its essence, desegregation in Goldsboro was characterized by the strong leadership of a dedicated Superintendent and Board of Education, by community wide forums for communication and interaction, and by concern for the feelings and status of both black and white staff members. The planning process involved a search for solutions in which all sides were heard. Compromises indeed had to be made on both sides, but these were tempered by the atmosphere of openness and general trust.

One cannot deny that what has been described in this report represents only a beginning in removing inequities between the races and fostering mutual understanding and respect. The Goldsboro City system today is already immersed in issues surrounding a possible merger with the County system. Its present organization may thus be disrupted again. What has been captured in this report, however, is timeless, for it describes the human elements which are common to desegregation, and documents effective and meaningful mechanisms for implementing desegregation with overall success. As such, the story of desegregation in Goldsboro, North Carolina during the years 1965 to 1973 stands as an example of effective commitment, planning, and cooperation.

Desegregation of the Minneapolis Public Schools
Minneapolis, Minnesota

A Case Study

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Preface

A team of researchers from Teachers College, Columbia University visited selected schools in the Minneapolis Public Schools system for the purpose of studying and documenting key processes within the school district and community which were associated with the desegregated system. The study team consisted of five members who conducted structured and unstructured interviews with a sample of Central administrative staff, school faculty and staff, students, parents and community leaders, and observed both formally and informally in eleven school settings - (5 elementary, 3 junior high and 3 senior high schools). Observations in classrooms, study halls, lunchrooms, hallways, etc. were supplemented by groups as well as individual interviews.

This report makes extensive use of individual quotes as means of providing a clear picture of the wide range of views held among the school and community people in Minneapolis. Just as attitudes are said to dictate one's view of a situation, views expressed can provide insights about one's perceptions and attitudes concerning change -- in this case, changes incident to desegregation.

A sincere "thank you" is due to the people at all levels of the school system and community who were most receptive to us and cooperative in our efforts. A special note of appreciation is extended to Dr. John B. Davis, then Superintendent of Schools in the area of desegregation, and to Dr. Robert L. Williams, Associate Superintendent, Office of Intergroup Education, for coordinating and facilitating our work.

Effie M. Bynum

CHAPTER I - THE BACKGROUND OF THE CITY AND THE SCHOOLS

Description of the City and Demographic Data

Minneapolis, the "City of Lakes", is the largest city in the state of Minnesota. Located in the southeastern part of the state, 350 miles northwest of Chicago, it is considered the gateway to the lake country of the north. The 58 square mile city lies adjacent to the city of Saint Paul; together they are known as the "Twin Cities". This hub of commerce and industry is the 14th largest metropolitan area in the nation and is linked to other major parts of America and the world by air, railroad and highway transportation. The Mississippi River carries ships from the Gulf of Mexico to areas north of Minneapolis.

Minneapolis, the outstanding center of the upper northwest, is a major producer of electronic and heating equipment, farm machinery, grain products, railroad and automobile equipment and is also noted for foundaries, machine shops, wood products, furniture, knitted maerials, food and dairy products, and linseed oil. It is one of the nation's leading electronics manufacturing centers and is a major financial center for insurance companies, banks and investment firms. It is also a convention center, with tourism ranking as a major commercial enterprise. Nine railroads service the city, and North Central of Northwest Orient both maintain headquarters in Minneapolis. Among other corporate headquarters located in Minneapolis are: Cargill, Inc., General Mills, Pillsbury, Honeywell and Control Data. The tallest building in the area was built by Investors' Diversified Services; it houses their offices and a major hotel and a shopping center. Some major investment and banking firms which have their headquarters in Minneapolis are First National and Northwestern Bancorporations; Dain, Kalman, and Quail; and Piper, Jaffray and Hopwood.

The University of Minnesota is located in Minneapolis, as are several private colleges and seminaries. The Minnesota Symphony, a major orchestra, the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre, the Walker Art Center and the Minneapolis Institute of Art constitute a full-range of cultural opportunities. In addition to the number of lakes within the city limits, there are numerous parks and major sports attractions - the Minnesota North Stars (hockey), the Minnesota Twins (baseball), and the Minnesota Vikings (football).

The city government is administered by a Mayor and City Council and a City Coordinator (manager), with other city boards exercising authority in specific areas - Board of Estimate and Taxation, with representatives from all boards, City Planning, Parks and Recreation, Library and Education. These members and officials are elected to office on a non-partisan basis. The city attracted antional attention in 1970, when a former city detective lieutenant was elected mayor on a law and order platform, succeeding a liberal mayor, Arthur C. Naftalin, who had labored during the urban crisis of the mid-1960's.

The Board of Education is composed of seven members, who are elected on an at-large bases for four year terms. It was their task to make plans for the eventual desegregation of the public schools in the early 1970's. Although there was great opposition from the citizenry and political officials, a small persistent group of liberal citizens clamored for the integration of the schools. The State Department of Education and the State Board had the basic direction of state guidelines which affected the Twin Cities in a greater manner than other municipalities.

The 1970 Census (see Figure 1.) revealed a decline in the population of Minneapolis from 482,872 to 434,400, a ten percent drop. There was an increase in Black Americans from 11,785 (2.5 percent of the total) to 19,005 (4.4 percent of the total) representing a 55 percent increase. The Native American (Indian) population was estimated at 3,000 in 1960, and increased to 5,829 in 1970. The White population declined by 13 percent, 61,000 less, in keeping with national trends. Other races were listed at 2,197, in 1970 for .5 percent of the total.

There were two major concentrations of Blacks and Native Americans in the city, one each in the north and south. The increases in the Black population in the northern part of Minneapolis were from 4,360 to 8,374, and in the south, from 2,930 to 7,105 during the ten year period. There were increases in the number of Black residents of the eastern and western parts of the city, as well. The greatest concentrations of Black residents were in the heart of the two sections cited. There was a higher proportion of the city's Blacks living in those census tracts with 5 percent or more Blacks. However, in 1960 there were 27 tracts with no Black residents and in 1970 this number had narrowed to 10 tracts with no Black residents. The Twin Cities suburbs showed a marked increase in Black residents from 620 to about 2,000, a 222.5 percent increase.

Native Americans are more dispersed throughout the city than the Black residents. Two tracts have a 10 percent or higher Native American population. One is in the northern part of the city; the other is in the southern part. There were about 746 Native Americans living in South Minneapolis within the "Black" tracts, i.e. a 5 percent or higher Black residency.

Over 90 percent of Black Americans in Minnesota reside in the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Historically, they came to this area for jobs as laborers with the railroad, train porters, janitors, bellboys, and barbers. Notwithstanding these facts, as early as the 1890's, Black professionals were practicing in Minneapolis. It was during this era that the first Black physician, William D. Brown, was licensed to practice medicine in Minnesota. In 1898, John Francis Wheaton, an attorney and former deputy clerk of the Minneapolis Municipal Court and Clerk of the Minnesota legislature, was elected to the State Legislature. In the late 1940's, the thrust for fair employment in Minneapolis generated an expansion in job opportunities to civil service and industrial jobs. It remained for the most significant effects to occur during the post-Korean and Viet Nam War periods, during which time large numbers of Black Americans moved into industrial and business jobs at the management level. It is likely that federal contract compliance regulations brought

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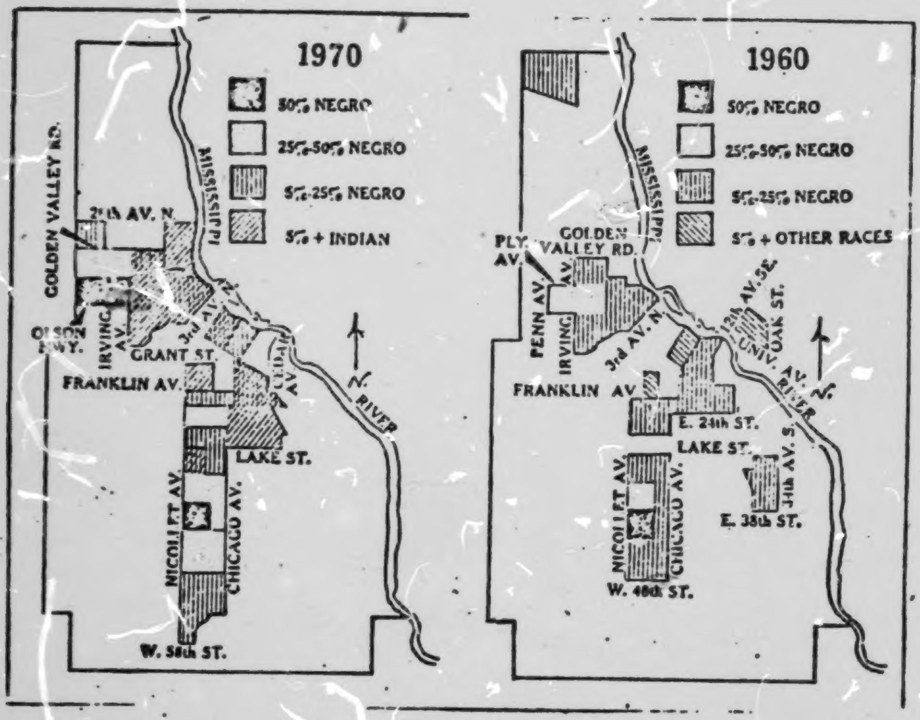
FIGURE I

MINNEAPOLIS POPULATION

	1960 Persons	Pct.	1970 Persons	Pct.
Total	482,872		434,400	
White	467,273	96.7%	406,414	93.6%
Negro ...	11,785	2.5	19,005	4.4
Indian* ..			5,829	1.5
Other Races*	3,809	.8	2,197	.5

*Indians included among "other races" in 1960.


1970
50% NEGRO
25%-50% NEGRO
5%-25% NEGRO
5% + INDIAN
MISSISSIPPI
GOLDEN VALLEY RD.
26th AV. N.
OLSON HWY.
IRVING AV.
3rd AV. N.
GRANT ST.
FRANKLIN AV.
CEDAR AV.
LAKE ST.
NICOLLET AV.
CHICAGO AV.
W. 58th ST.
N.
RIVER
1960
50% NEGRO
25%-50% NEGRO
5%-25% NEGRO
5% + OTHER RACES
PLY. AV.
GOLDEN VALLEY RD.
PENN AV.
IRVING AV.
3rd AV. N.
13th AV. SE
OAK ST.
UNIV. AV.
FRANKLIN AV.
E. 24th ST.
LAKE ST.
34th AV. S.
E. 38th ST.
NICOLLET AV.
CHICAGO AV.
W. 48th ST.
N.
RIVER

about the major increases. Immediately preceding the desegregation of schools issue in Minneapolis, the citizens elected their second Black American member of the Board of Education. The first had served just before him for two consecutive terms, and had participated in the development of the Human Relations Guidelines of 1967. The major exceptions to the opportunities for Blacks in Minneapolis were the police and fire departments and the building and construction trades. Such conditions challenged the resources of the local Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People branches.

The effects of a "White backlash" characterized the city during those days immediately preceding the discussions for school desegregation. Conditions between races were strained due to the outright concessions granted to Black Americans in response to the complaints which were vigorously stated during the late 1960's, creating a volatile environment for the adjustments to be made throughout the community.

Description of the School District Before Desegregation

In an effort to improve the total educational program, the Minneapolis Board of Education on December 12, 1967, adopted its first "Human Relations Guidelines". The following areas were identified as needing special attention:

1. Racial balance and pupil placement
2. Personnel practices
3. Curriculum
4. Staff development
5. Compensatory education.

A Department of Urban Affairs was established with a full-time staff of two Black administrators. This group was to coordinate the programs in this new thrust. Under pressure from Black parents, an urban transfer program allowing voluntary transfers for racial balance was inaugurated. Eighty students were transferred to other schools in the year, 1967.

The recruitment of Black teachers was increased, with visits made to major Black colleges for candidates. A Human Relations Center was established to provide staff and materials for leadership in multi-ethnic relations and instruction, curriculum, and in-service training in cooperation with the Department of Urban Affairs. Release time was given staff for the special activities in workshop and seminar settings emphasizing human relations and cultural differences; administrators were included in these programs. In each school, there were human relations committees organized.

At that time, 3.5 percent of the Minneapolis teaching staff was categorized as non-white, with 5 non-whites added to the administrative staffs.

In 1970, the Minnesota Board of Education, after hearings in the Fall, 1969, issued guidelines (under EDU 521-30, a policy for the establishment of equal educational opportunity) setting a 30 percent minority limit for student enrollments in any public school. Following the sight count (see Table 1), the Minneapolis school administrators reported that 21 schools were racially imbalanced, i.e., schools having a minority enrollment greater than 26 percent or twice the percentage, 13, of minority group children in the district. The percentages of minority enrollments were 10.7 in 1968, 12 in 1969; with total enrollments of 70,006 in 1968, 68,278 in 1969, and 66,934 in 1970. The increase in minority enrollments is noted in the following: 7,516-1968, 8,166-1969, 8,727-1970. There was a loss of 1,805 white students; and an increase of 561 minority students. All of the racially imbalanced schools were in the neighborhoods noted earlier in North and South Minneapolis which were 5 percent to 50 percent black occupied. There were special schools for pregnant girls and youth in remedial programs which were included in the list of 21 schools. In five of the schools, the minority enrollment increased-two junior high schools and three elementary schools.

The summary of personnel given in the 1970 sight count (Table 2) revealed a total of 6,437 employed; of these 3,803 were certified or professional staff. There were 5 (5 percent) minority principals out of 99, 10 (16 percent) minority assistant principals out of 62,170 (5.7 percent) minority teachers out of 2,961 and 44 (6.5 percent) minority staff out of 681 in the other certified category. In the non-certified category, there were 252 (9.57 percent) out of 2,634.

The 1971 sight count indicates a decrease in total enrollment, from 66,934 to 65,201 and an increase in minority enrollment, 13.1 persons to 14.5 percent. At the same time, personnel statistics (Table 3) were 3,923 certified 266 minority (6.78 percent), 2,859 teachers-183 minority (6.4 percent); 56 assistant principals-9 minority (16 percent) and 97 principals-6 minority (6.19 percent).

The Urban Transfer Program, implemented initially in 1967 as an attempt at voluntary desegregation, the adoption of the 1970 Human Relations Guidelines, the pairing of Hale(White)/Fiels(Black) elementary schools in 1971, and the affirmative recruitment program for minority teachers and staff were all suggestive of efforts of the Minneapolis school district to eliminate racial segregation. The district staff had also been involved in a needs assessment during 1969-70. However, the report of the State Commissioner of Education citing 17 Minneapolis schools in violation of state guidelines setting maximum enrollment of minority students at 30% was perhaps the first spark which led to actual desegregation plans. The school administration developed three sets of plans which called for pairing of schools and busing following the state's request for proposals. [The district's plans were presented to the Board at a private advance briefing in October 1971 and at a public meeting of the Board of Education the following day, but no decision was reached at that time.]

In 1970, the "Human Relations Guidelines" established by the Board of Education called for continuation of the Department of Intergroup Education as the agent responsible for coordination of activities in the Guidelines. This department began in 1967 as a subdivision of the Department of Urban Affairs staffed by a director, assistant director and secretary. After receiving his doctorate from the University of Minnesota in 1969, the director was appointed Assistant Superintendent, the first of his race to rise to such heights in Minneapolis. His primary responsibility was administration of the Human Relations Program through the newly created Department of Intergroup Education.

Meanwhile, the Task Force on Minority Cultures was organized to provide support services in curriculum and instruction and human relations to individual teachers and school staffs. There were ten teachers on special assignment and a project administrator who served the above personnel with an emphasis on the values from various ethnic cultures, but mainly, Native American and Black American heritages; principals or teachers could request their services. By this time, the Human Relations Center was disbanded.

The following outline indicates the scope of the Department of Intergroup Education, which served the inherent needs of the Minneapolis school personnel, particularly after the adoption of a set of Human Relations Guidelines for the 1970's. (Appendix A)

MISSIONS:

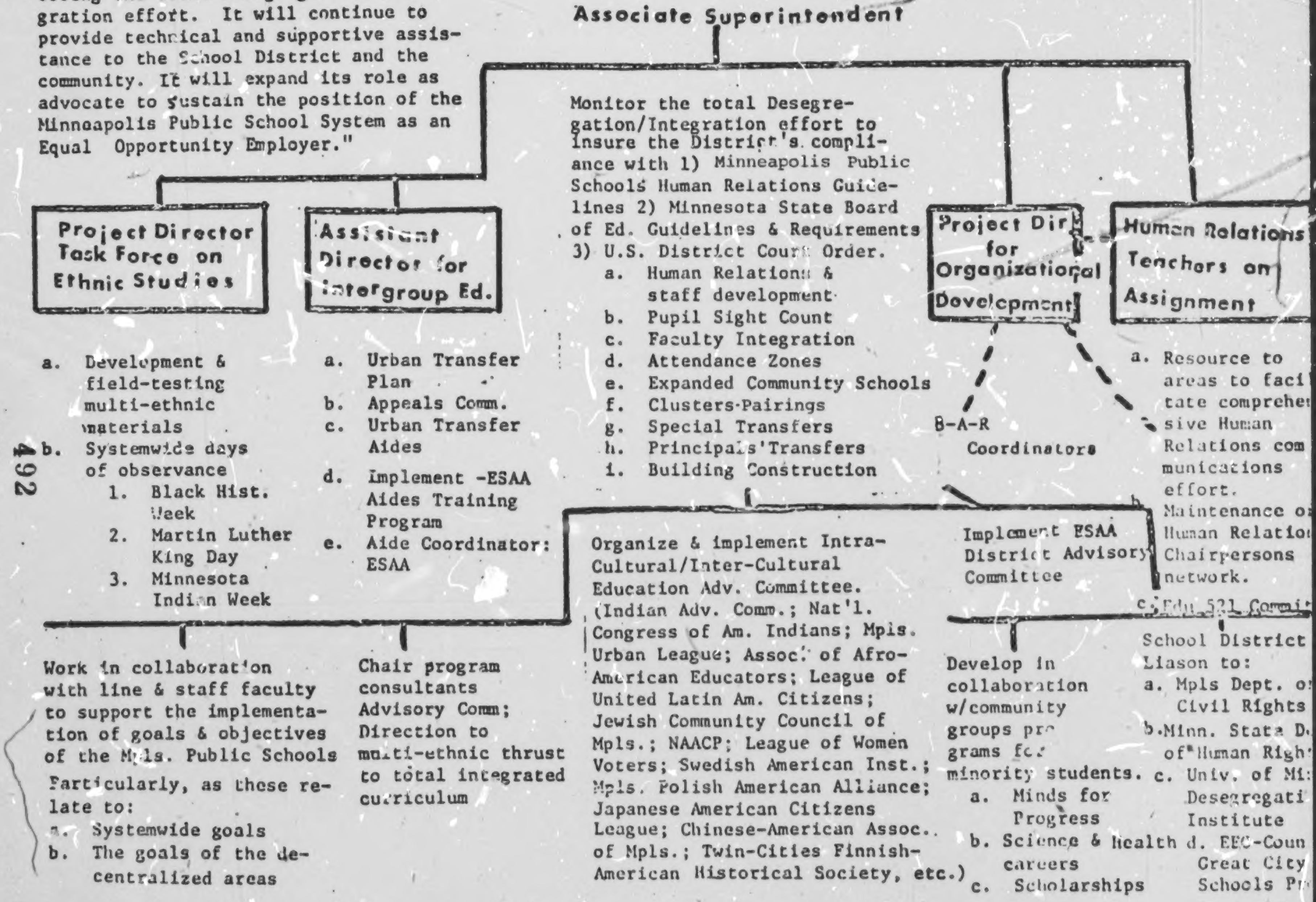
1. To provide leadership and guidance in effectuating a sound human relations climate in Minneapolis Public Schools.
2. To facilitate the efforts of school-community individuals and groups toward meeting the objectives stated in the Human Relations Guidelines.

FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES:	COORDINATE WITH:
1. Direct the development and revision of the Human Relations Guidelines.	Superintendent's Cabinet.
2. Direct the activities of the Task Force on Minority Cultures.	Associate Superintendents for Elementary and Secondary and the project director of the Task Force on Minority Cultures.
3. Administer the Urban Transfer Policy.	Assistant Director of Intergroup Education, Supervisor of Transportation and secondary principals.
4. Keep abreast of nation-wide programs on school desegregation-integration and convey to superintendent and his cabinet.	Cabinet.
5. Make recommendations to the superintendent and cabinet on programs regarding desegregation-integration and Human Relations.	Superintendent and cabinet.
6. Development and dissemination of city-wide guidelines for observing Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day and Black History Week.	Principals, superintendents, consultants, and the Project Director of the Task Force on Minority Cultures.
7. Coordinate disposition of problems involving Intergroup conflict in city schools.	Appropriate superintendents, principals, faculty, pupils, parents and the Assistant Director of Intergroup Education.
8. Advise superintendent's Cabinet and other staff on release and dissemination of intergroup information to the public.	Superintendent's Cabinet, director of Information Services, Director of School-Community Relations, Pyramid directors and principals.
9. Identify and convey community concerns to cabinet, staff and faculty.	Cabinet, staff and faculty.

	FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES:	COORDINATE WITH:
10.	Identify and convey administration's concern to faculty and community.	Faculty and key community persons, agencies and groups.
11.	Monitor all program operations relative to desegregation-integration and human relations.	Cabinet, staff, project administors, and principals.
12.	Make recommendations for continuation, modifications, or adoption of programs relative to integration and human relations.	Cabinet.
13.	Provide direction in the planning, development and completion of new construction as related to integration.	Cabinet and the director of construction.
14.	Initiate and coordinate through the superintendent all information regarding desegregation-integration for conveyance to the Board of Education.	Superintendent and Dr. Kent.
15.	Provide direction to consultants and faculty on intergroup materials and methods.	Consultants and faculty.
16.	Provide leadership and technical assistance through the director of staff development for pre-service and in-service training of certificated and non-certificated personnel.	Director of Staff Development and Pyramid directors, and the Assistant Director of Intergroup Education.
17.	Maintain sound human relations, interdistrict, particularly, close communications with central office personnel.	Assistant to Superintendent for Urban Affairs, Director of Volunteer Services, Assistant Superintendent for Federal Projects, Research and Development.
18.	Report regularly to the superintendent on all matters relating to Intergroup Education.	Everyone.
19.	To act for the superintendent when so requested.	Superintendent.
20.	Represent Minneapolis Public Schools on Boards, and Committees at local, state and national levels.	

Goal Statement:
"The Dept. of Intergroup Education will have as its prime focus, monitoring the total Desegregation/Integration effort. It will continue to provide technical and supportive assistance to the School District and the community. It will expand its role as advocate to sustain the position of the Minneapolis Public School System as an Equal Opportunity Employer."

DEPT. of Intergroup Education



Associate Superintendent

Monitor the total Desegregation/Integration effort to insure the District's compliance with 1) Minneapolis Public Schools Human Relations Guidelines 2) Minnesota State Board of Ed. Guidelines & Requirements 3) U.S. District Court Order.
- a. Human Relations & staff development
- b. Pupil Sight Count
- c. Faculty Integration
- d. Attendance Zones
- e. Expanded Community Schools
- f. Clusters-Pairings
- g. Special Transfers
- h. Principals'Transfers
- i. Building Construction

Project Director Task Force on Ethnic Studies

- a. Development & field-testing multi-ethnic materials
- b. Systemwide days of observance
  - 1. Black Hist. Week
  - 2. Martin Luther King Day
  - 3. Minnesota Indian Week

Work in collaboration with line & staff faculty to support the implementation of goals & objectives of the Mpls. Public Schools Particularly, as these relate to:
- a. Systemwide goals
- b. The goals of the decentralized areas

Assistant Director for Intergroup Ed.

- a. Urban Transfer Plan
- b. Appeals Comm.
- c. Urban Transfer Aides
- d. Implement -ESAA Aides Training Program
- e. Aide Coordinator: ESAA

Chair program consultants Advisory Comm; Direction to multi-ethnic thrust to total integrated curriculum

Organize & implement Intra-Cultural/Inter-Cultural Education Adv. Committee. (Indian Adv. Comm.; Nat'l. Congress of Am. Indians; Mpls. Urban League; Assoc. of Afro-American Educators; League of United Latin Am. Citizens; Jewish Community Council of Mpls.; NAACP; League of Women Voters; Swedish American Inst.; Mpls. Polish American Alliance; Japanese American Citizens League; Chinese-American Assoc. of Mpls.; Twin-Cities Finnish-American Historical Society, etc.)

Project Dir for Organizational Development

B-A-R Coordinators

Implement ESAA District Advisory Committee

Develop in collaboration w/community groups programs for minority students.
- a. Minds for Progress
- b. Science & Health careers
- c. Scholarships

Human Relations Teachers on Assignment

- a. Resource to areas to faci tate comprehe sive Human Relations com munications effort.
- b. Maintenance o Human Relatio Chairpersons network.
- c. Edu 521 Commi

School District Liason to:
- a. Mpls Dept. o Civil Rights
- b. Minn. State D of Human Righ
- c. Univ. of Mi Desegregati Institute
- d. EEC-Coun Great City Schools Pr

In the 1970 "Guidelines" (Appendix A) the Board of Education called for the pairing of two racially imbalanced elementary schools. In order to effect such a plan, children were to be bused between the two schools, which were located adjacent to each other. Needless to say, this event sparked controversy. This controversy fed into the political conflict between the aforementioned mayoral candidate and his opponent, who, by coincidence, had been a member of the School Board when they voted to pair the schools. At the same time, two incumbent board members decided not to run for reelection and their seats were contested with a strong pair of anti-busing candidates.

In the summer of 1971, a class/action suit was filed against Special School District No. 1, Minneapolis, Minnesota, complaining about the denial of equal educational opportunity by the maintenance of segregated schools; the suit was filed by Curtis C. Chiver, local NAACP activist and vice-president of the Minneapolis Spokesman, a black weekly, on behalf of his granddaughter, Jeanette Booker, by George S. Hage, on behalf of his son, David G., and by James M. Willis on behalf of his daughter, Montez. The Booker and Willis minors were black and the Hage child was white. The plantiffs alleged the denial was a deprivation of due process and equal protection of the law in violation of the 14th amendment. The specific contentions were that there was a continuous and intensifying pattern of segregation in the schools of Minneapolis resulting from 2 factors:

1. The imposition by the school board of a neighborhood school system on a city which is beset with intentional and widespread racial discrimination in housing, and

2. Specific acts on the part of the defendent which it knew, or should have known would create segregated schools.

A major finding of fact in May, 1972, by Judge Earl R. Larson, U.S. District Court, Minnesota, 4th Division, was that the schools operated by the defendant are segregated on the basis of race. The design of attendance zones, building-additions and new construction, principals' agreement and other student transfers all had the effect of maintaining or increasing racial segregation. In response to the May 1972 ruling a new desegregation plan was established.

The preceeding is the background against which our current efforts must be seen.

As the above outline indicates, the scope of work and the role of the personnel in the department was not solely to implement established policy, but, primarily to act in an advisory, fact-finding capacity as well. There was no direct supervisory or administrative authority over school personnel. The full weight of implementing the programmatic aspects of the Guidelines fell to the persuasive and insistent powers of the staff, rather than the threat of discipline. It must be emphasized that the teachers and administrators accepted the programs mainly on a voluntary basis, but, all too often, they were instrumental in thwarting the goals of the program until a crisis arose which they needed the assistance of the Intergroup Education staff to resolve.

Minnesota Public Law 822 made possible a series of human relations workshops to be conducted for selected personnel in the district. This law provided for special grants for teachers and parents to engage in a series of activities which would enhance the environment of the respective schools. This program was administered through the Department with the support of building human relations chairpersons. It is likely that in these preliminary steps to school desegregation their efforts provided a framework which made a smooth transition from the traditional to the new age. The information and guidance which they offered to those willing to participate in the programs formed a firm foundation for the implementing of a desegregation program. The school district and personnel -- students and staff would have suffered untold agony without their sustained work.

CHAPTER II - DEVELOPMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT DESEGREGATION PLAN

On November 24, 1970 the Minneapolis Board of Education adopted its second set of human relations guidelines[1] for Minneapolis public education. Termed educational goals for the 1970's, the guidelines stressed the system's commitment to quality education for all students through the acknowledgement of learning as an intense individual experience. Quality education was defined in terms of requiring "educational experiences which enable students to master the basic skills of reading, arithmetic, and language arts, and equally important, to develop skills in human relations." The recommended programs and preliminary steps toward improving and expanding educational opportunities for students of the Minneapolis public schools included:

- an urban transfer program for which permission would be granted, upon the requests of parents or guardians, on the condition that the transfer would 1) improve the racial composition in both the sending and receiving schools and 2) would not result in overcrowding in the receiving school;
- pilot/pairing programs between schools, particularly as a means of encouraging cross-age groups in the elementary schools;
- building and capital improvement programs to draw a multi-racial population, with definitive guidelines as to the size and organization of school buildings;
- development of educational centers, learning laboratories to foster better use of the city's rich educational resources and use of the quarter system in high schools to allow students easier entry and exit;
- volunteer magnet schools and magnet type programs in elementary and secondary schools to broaden educational options for students while improving the racial distribution;
- decentralization of administration to facilitate the delivery of services to children and faculty, and to improve communications with parents and citizens;
- development of specialized programs as a vehicle for promoting understanding and appreciation of different cultures, and as means of encouraging cooperative educational activities among various groups;
- continuous review of school boundaries;
- curriculum development, particularly in social studies, and implementation of new organizational patterns;

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[1] Human Relations Guidelines for Minneapolis Public Education in the 1970's, Minneapolis Public Schools, Special School District #1, Intergroup Education, ISC Publication, 1972. (see Appendix)

- intensified efforts to increase the number of minority group administrators, teachers and other school staff and to assign them to schools throughout the system so that the personnel as well as student population better reflects the racial composition of the total school district's population;

- faculty and staff development with special emphasis on human relations,

- supportive measures of research and evaluation, public information and the educational and social development of students, including heightened sensitivity to their rights and responsibilities;

- more effective use of news media, information materials and human resources to better communicate the plans and programs of the school district and to encourage community understanding and support.

While the focus of the human relations guidelines was on the goals of full commitment to quality education, the language of the document raised concerns about the state of segregated schools in Minneapolis. As a prelude to implementation of the guidelines adopted, the school administration committed itself to the development of a comprehensive plan based on the document, with clearly stated educational goals, order of priorities and delineated program components.

The Board's request for recommendations on how the school system might move to overcome racial segregation resulted in the district's development of desegregation/integration proposals for 1972-1975, based on the Human Relations Guidelines. These proposals included provisions for general program support, included among which were curriculum development, basic skills improvement, faculty and staff development, expanded Urban Transfer Program; and separate programs for elementary and secondary desegregation/integration. The plans received mixed reactions at a public meeting in December 1971.

In protest of segregated schools in Minneapolis, a legal suit was filed in the U.S. District Court, Fourth Division, District of Minnesota against Special School District No. 1, Minneapolis by parents of three students. On February 8, 1972 the suit was accepted by U.S. District Judge Earl R. Larson as appropriate for class action on behalf of "all children who are residents of Minneapolis and who attend its public schools."[2]

The plaintiff's complaint was that there exists a continuous and intensified pattern of segregation in the schools in the city of Minneapolis resulting from two factors:[3]

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[2] United States District Court, District of Minnesota, Fourth Division, Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Order for Judgment, No. 4-71 Civil 382, May 24, 1972, p. 1.

1) the imposition by the school board of a neighborhood school system on a city which is beset with intentional and widespread racial discrimination in housing; and

2) specific acts on the part of the Minneapolis school district which it knew, or should have known, would create segregated schools.

Admitting that the city schools were segregated, though stipulating racially segregated housing patterns as the major cause, and pointing to its 1967 and 1970 Human Relations Guidelines and 1972 plans for desegregation/integregation as indications of the district's good faith, the district denied any intent on its part to segregate schools.

The desegregation plans submitted to the Board on March 14 and revised on March 16, 1972 were designed to accomplish the goals of the Human Relations Guidelines, and included the closing of antiquated elementary schools over a 3-5 year period and the construction of new facilities. The district's proposals were adopted by the Board on April 25, 1972, with four amendments.

The Court tried the case in April 1972 and issued its Findings on May 24, 1972. Fundamentally, the court ordered the district to implement its own Plan for Desegregation/Integregation as amended and cited two specific modifications to be made in the plan, namely:

1) that no more than 35% of the student body of any one school shall consist of minority children;

2) that there shall be at least one minority teacher in all elementary schools (considering principals and assistant principals as teachers) and integration of the secondary school faculty so that each school has approximately the same proportion of minority to majority teachers as exist in the whole system.

The court further ordered that no transfers be made by principal's agreement or otherwise which would have the effect of increasing the segregated nature of either the sending or receiving schools; that the court must approve any construction of new buildings or additions to old schools beyond what is contemplated in the Plan, and any changes in the Plan which have the effect of increasing or aggravating existing school segregation or delaying full implementation of the Plan; and that the school district submit periodic reports every six months to the court and the plaintiff's counsel until ordered otherwise.

To the credit of the Minneapolis School District the Court recognized the amount of consideration and preparation reflected in the district's Plan with particular attention to its provisions for staff development and human relations training. In a further appraisal for the district's Plan, Judge Larson noted that "The preparation of a plan of this quality in the face of this lawsuit indicates that this defendent (the school district) is not a recalcitrant district whose promises are suspect."[4]

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[4] Ibid, p. 13.

The Plan

The Minneapolis Public Schools plans for desegregation/integregation had extensive involvement of teachers and administrators, and to a somewhat lesser degree, the community. Responses to the question concerning how the district involved school personnel and the community in planning for desegregation were basically very favorable, even though there was a wide spread in reports of the level of participation. The comments of a department chairman in one of the junior high schools serves to represent the general consensus:

> "The district took care in finding ways to involve the teaching staff, professional organizations and the school community in the development of desegregation plans. The numerous Saturday meetings with parents and teachers, open community and Board meetings, extensive newspaper coverage and printed brochures for parents served to get the information out and to continuously clarify issues about the district's plan."

The plans, proposed for 1972-1975 included progressive steps for implementation. The first phase mainly focused on staff and personnel human relations training and school construction, while phase two called for moving students--particularly at the secondary level, to new schools. The bulk of the Plan was scheduled to take effect in the Fall of 1973 and in 1974.

The proposals for elementary schools have two primary goals, that of eliminating the maximum number of racially isolated schools, and replacing the maximum number of old, obsolete elementary buildings. These goals are to be accomplished by clustering and pairing schools, establishment of learning centers and extended community schools.

The secondary's division proposals for achieving a better racial balance in the schools contain three basic approaches; namely:

- moving ninth graders into the senior high schools (change from 3 year to 4 year senior high schools)

- reorganization of junior high schools into two-grade units (7-8 schools)

- changes in school boundaries to alleviate overcrowding.

The day following Judge Larson's decision, the Minneapolis Tribune carried the headlines "Both Sides in School Lawsuit Approval of Ruling"--desegregation had been so ordered. Superintendent John B. Davis, Jr. remarked that he was impressed that the Board's proposal had been found basically a proper and timely way to move and further stateed that he was "basically pleased."[5]

There were, however, several issues raised by the plaintiffs regarding interpretation of the order which needed clarification. These issues were brought to light following the district's first semi-annual report to the Court in December of 1972.

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[5] Minneapolis Tribune, Thursday, May 25, 1972.

The district was thought to be in violation of the Court's order on several points which related to:

1) the minority enrollment figures projected for a new school facility to be opened in 1974 which would be in excess of the Court-ordered 35% maximum;

2) the district's act of counting part-time teachers and other non-teaching personnel in noting its compliance with the order on faculty integration;

3) the problem of transfers, specifically "band" transfers, the district's formation of an Appeals Committee on Transfers, optional attendance areas, and the underutilization of certain schools resulting from failure to transfer students in;

4) the need to include statistical information on transfers in the periodic reports to the Court.

The plaintiffs requested supplementary relief from the Court on the foregoing four points. Judge Larson's Memorandum Order for Supplementary Relief was handed down on May 8, 1973.

In brief, on the four points the Order stipulated that:

1) 35% Maximum Minority Enrollment
   Because only on school is involved, and the opening of the school is still a year and a half away, the Court will not now order any modification in the plan.

2) Faculty Integration
   On elementary school faculty integration, the Court accepted the district's promise that there would be one full-time faculty member in each elementary school by Fall 1973, with the understanding that the "faculty member may be a principal, assistant principal, full time classroom teacher or full time certified personnel in a position of authority vis-à-vis the children's education."

   On the secondary level, the Court ordered that the district "integrate the faculties so that each school would not have less than 6% nor more than 12% minority teachers, effective in the Fall of 1974.

3) Transfers

   A. Band Transfers: The district was enjoined from banding certain schools in the future and ordered that "no further transfers among these school may be granted by principals in the future, unless they improve or have no effect on the racial balance at both the sending and the receiving school. If any transfers within this band have been granted but have not yet become effective, they should be rescinded."

B. Appeals Committee on Transfers: While the Court agreed with the district that there may be valid educational reasons for transfers that have some segregative effects, it noted that the district had not been as discriminating as it might have been in granting elementary transfers.

As to secondary transfers, the Court asked for an exercise of caution when a parent supplements an application for transfer with a professional recommendation concerning the desirability of transfer, with special note that "if the Committee falls into the habit of granting any transfer accompanied by a cursory professional statement based on one meeting with the child and/or parent, those parents with financial or social means will have available to them an automatic transfer."

The Court found the plaintiff's request to rescind all transfers granted by the Appeals Committee within the last year and the Committee would be in a position to deny any which did not show "educational necessity."

C. Optional Attendance Zones: There were certain elementary and secondary optional attendance zones scheduled to be closed in September 1973 and September 1974. The Court ordered that "those children who have exercised the option to transfer from one school to another prior to the 1972-73 school year may continue at the transferee school. Those who exercised the option for the first time in 1972-73 shall have their transfers rescinded and shall attend the home school."

D. Underutilization of Schools: The Court disagreed with the district in its reasoning for making particular transfers to alleviate overcrowding in preference to other transfers which would have achieved the same results. The plaintiff had referred to the strategy as in violation of the Court's order and as being segregative in effect. The Court mentioned the segregative nature of the contemplated transfers and ordered the district not to institute them.

4) Reporting

The district was directed to include in its semi-annual reports to the Court statistics on transfers (band transfers, Appeals Committee transfers, optional attendance area transfers and any other type contemplated) stating home and transferee school, number of transfers granted, number of transfers denied and the race of those children requesting transfers, whether granted or denied.

In subsequent reports to the Court, the district suggested the necessity for modifications of the plan principally on the basis of the purchase of a school which would have an effect upon other schools in the West area, and because of the hardships the Court's 12% ceiling for minority faculty at the secondary level posed for the district in terms of its requiring reassignment of substantial numbers of minority teachers, effecting serious morale problems, and inhibiting the recruitment of additional minority teachers, since the district would have serious problems placing minority teachers already on the staff.

Basically, district reports indicated close adherence to its schedule for plan implementation as ordered by the Court.

CHAPTER III - PROCESS LEADING TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION

A scurry of activity accompanied the Court's mandate to the Minneapolis School District to implement its desegregation plan, with court modifications.

The alteration of the district's plan, which specified that no more than 35% of the student body of any one school consist of minority children, necessitated a reduction of the high percentage of minority students in the elementary schools which were easily identified as "black" schools. The district also moved to decrease the number of optional attendance zones for elementary schools, taking heed of the Court's reference to the maintenance of such zones which have the effect of permitting the "escape" of whites from black neighborhood schools.

The modification requiring the integration of faculty for September 1972 brought about increased efforts to recruit and hire minority teachers. The Court order called for compliance with the following formula:

> Before there are more than two minority teachers in any one elementary school there shall be at least one minority teacher in all elementary schools. [For these purposes, principals and assistant principals shall be considered teachers]. The faculties of the secondary schools shall be integrated so that each has approximately the same proportion of minority to majority teachers as there are minority to majority teachers in the whole system.

The Court further stipulated that the plan for faculty integration was to be completed by the opening of the 1973-74 school year.

Program development, particularly related to social studies, resulted in a few curriculum changes. In addition, several school clusters were established and the district initiated a mechanism for processing applications for pupil transfers in keeping with the Court's order prohibiting the district from allowing transfers, by principal's agreement or otherwise, which would have the effect of increasing the segregated nature of the schools. The district continued to publicize its official policy of encouraging volunteer transfers for racial balance and projected the Urban Transfer Program as a viable means of facilitating planning and easing the transition between sending and receiving schools.

Strategies used for articulating the district's plan included use of the news media, informative newsletters, daytime community coffee klatches, evening neighborhood meetings involving small groups, the formation of a parent advisory committee which was largely responsible for communicating the facts to local groups and reporting reactions and suggestions to the central administration, busing the parents, using the same routes as the students would follow, group visits to new schools children would be attending, and open meetings of the Board of Education.

There was also a planned series of exchanges which afforded students the opportunity to visit the schools to which they were assigned and to meet with the teachers and staff. It is the general consensus that these methods of information exchange and face to face dialogue proved invaluable in the process of implementing the district's plan. Counselors were used somewhat as a sounding board for students, staff and community during the planning stages of desegregation and had as their expressed duty the conveyance of the feelings of this constituency to facilitate decision-making.

There was some open rejection of the desegregation plan on several counts expressed mainly by white parents. These views related to the loss of the neighborhood school concept, the uproar over the busing issue, the increases in costs that the desegregation plan would force upon the community and the basic fact that "many of the white parents did not want their children going to school with blacks," as emphatically remarked by a teacher. The fears expressed, however, were not confined to the white parents and community. There were also general apprehensions among black parents most of which were related to the possible loss of special educational programs and assistance that the enrichment programs in the mostly black shcools provided for the students.

The plan for construction of new and larger school buildings received some community support, but concerted opposition of the intent for expanded community schools was expressed at a December 1972 Board meeting and resulted in a request for a six-month moratorium on site acquisition and building proposals.

The concerns about increased costs were obviously very real and represented an issue very sensitive to a cross section of the population. The June 27, 1972 edition of the Minneapolis Star reported the results of its Metro-Poll which sought to get the community's views on busing and new construction. In response to the question as to whether people would consider busing children to nearby communities with empty classrooms to avoid building new schools, a majority of those surveyed voted a preference for busing children across community lines.

	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NO OPINION
ALL RESPONDENTS	51%	45%	4%
Men	56	40	4
Women	47	50	3
18-29	63	34	3
College	65	32	3

Although many of the busing critics had placed the emphasis of their opposition on the cost of providing bus service there was an even greater resistance to those avenues to desegregation which necessitated higher costs. The district's response to many of the fears was on the basis that the funds to be used were mainly Federal funds, not local, and the fact that the district was desegregating under court order.

It is felt by some segments of the population that the Court's retention of jurisdiction in the case not only rendered potential counter forces in a new Board election powerless to undo the desegregation plan, but also aided in dispelling much of the community unrest. The absence of hard core resistance was also a result of frequent parent meetings during planning. In general, the local press was described as having given little attention to public education and having presented no particular stand on the issue of desegregation. The surburban papers, on the other hand, were reported as consistently in opposition to desegregation and quite outspoken on the issue.

Both the United Federation of Teachers and the Minneapolis Education Association are reported to have played an active role during the initial discussions of the plan, and were seen as showing strong leadership in supporting the Court order and State guidelines for desegregation, even as they delineated concerns about how the plan would affect teachers' jobs. A major aspect of teacher and faculty preparation was the requirement of human relations training for school personnel which included techniques for dealing with the unavoidable pressures and conflict crisis which attend desegregation efforts. A total of ten such workshops were mandated; some staff were engaged in training beyond this number, specifically those members who served as chairmen or coordinators of human relations programs for their particular schools.

A member of the study team observed one of the teachers' human relations workshop sessions which was held at a high school and led by a psychologist from the University of Minnesota. The session, with approximately eighteen people in attendance (15 whites, 3 blacks) was divided into three parts: 1) a lecture; 2) a goal setting period (where teachers identified their most pressing problems; and 3) a free discussion. The areas of the lecture presentation included:

- theoretical principles of social psychology
- cause of behavior
- different ways of influencing the behavior of others
- ways of helping students build their own self-esteem
- helping to understand prejudice
- developing a democratic atmosphere (of mutual respect).

Those involved in the workshop appeared to have valued this method of learning through instruction and group exchange. Other special provisions were made for guest speakers at scheduled symposia and there were exchange department meetings and meetings of school personnel with Central Board staff.

In a further move to upgrade the skills of school leaders, the

Minneapolis school administrators attended a three-day conference in August 1972 at St. John's University on the topic, "Humanizing Our Schools - Preparation for Development of Integrated Environments for Learning." Proceedings of the conference were reported in a published manual entitled "Minneapolis Moves to Integration."

There was some discomfort among elementary school teachers about the change from the traditional teaching method to a continuous progress instructional model. A booklet had been prepared by the district office explaining the new program which teachers were expected to implement and to articulate to parents. It was felt by some teachers that actual instruction and the content of the booklet were inconsistent and that they could not adequately interpret the program. A teacher in one of the elementary schools reported that during the spring her administration allotted extra planning time for teachers to set up their program and permitted teachers to reorganize clusters and grouping procedures. The work served to rectify the inconsistencies and to relieve staff pressures. "The administration was as fair as it could be in view of the circumstances. These problems no longer exist."

Staff development, community involvement and the improvement of school facilities were considered essential components for the successful implementation of the plan and necessary in the district's efforts to cluster grades and to properly proceed with plans for the new expanded community schools. The district's report to the Court of December 1973 included a statement as to its satisfaction with the implementation process as of that date, and noted that the plan had received better acceptance by the public than might have been expected.

Figure 1

SUMMARY STATISTICS BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORIES*
FROM 1969 TO 1973

PUPILS

RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY	1969 NO.	1969 PCT.	1970 NO.	1970 PCT.	1971 NO.	1971 PCT.	1972 NO.	1972 PCT.	1973 NO.	1973 PCT.
NATIVE AMERICANS	1,843	2.7	1,993	3.0	2,225	3.4	2,352	3.8	2,545	4.3
BLACK AMERICANS	5,528	8.1	5,944	8.9	6,351	9.7	6,542	10.6	6,882	11.7
ASIAN AMERICANS	347	0.5	329	0.5	354	0.5	352	0.6	396	0.7
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICANS	448	0.7	461	0.7	536	0.8	567	0.9	615	1.0
ALL OTHER AMERICANS	60,112	88.0	58,207	87.0	55,735	85.5	52,076	84.1	48,405	82.3
TOTALS	68,278	100.0	66,934	100.1	65,201	99.9	61,889	100.0	58,833	100.0
(TOTAL MINORITY)	8,166	12.0	8,727	13.1	9,466	14.5	9,813	15.9	10,428	17.7

* RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORIES AS DEFINED BY DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.

CHAPTER IV - PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES INCIDENT TO DESEGREGATION

In 1967 the Minneapolis School District #1 instituted its voluntary plan to improve the racial composition of its schools and received community and faculty support. Transfers were made to the extent that in 1972 there were students from minority groups in all of the Minneapolis schools. The court action which was brought against the district was in part based on the fact that there were still specific schools which had high visibility as "black" schools (5 elementary, 2 junior high, 1 senior high). While segregation was declared most noticeable at the elementary level it was also true that a significant number of white students attended junior and senior high schools with only a trifling minority enrollment.

Whether or not as a direct result of efforts to more evenly distribute the student population among schools, there has been a steady decrease in white enrollment in the public schools of Minneapolis since 1968. That year there were 62,490 whites in the public schools out of a total student population of 70,006--89%. The ethnic racial breakdown of student enrollment for the period 1969-1973 can be seen in Figure 1.

Although total enrollments have been decreasing at a 2% plus level for the past five years, the percent of the total enrollment represented by minority group students shows a slight increase over this period.

Year	Percent	Increase
1973-74	17.7	1.8
1972-73	15.9	1.4
1971-72	14.5	1.4
1970-71	13.1	1.1
1969-70	12.0	---

Grouping Patterns:

In response to questions about grouping patterns used in the schools, the majority of the teachers make reference to a concerted effort to mix classes heterogeneously. In specific instances teachers find it necessary to group homogeneously because of the wide range of abilities among students, specifically in such subjects as reading, math and, often, science. Grouping in math frequently takes the form of small group tutoring.

Although some elementary schools group pupils on the basis of grade level (by achievement) in the basic subject areas there is an increasing practice of the multi-age grouping and ungraded classes at the elementary level. The movement away from the self-contained classroom is being replaced by the Continuous Progress Program for primary levels and the flexible program and team teaching techniques at the 4-6 grade level. Cross-age grouping was observed in most of the classrooms visited.

Students in grades 7 and 8 are generally randomly assigned to classes and, again, attempts are made to mix students in class according to a range of academic abilities and as a means of breaking up student cliques so as to spread the leadership found in these groups.

At the upper levels, students have a wider range of course options from which to choose. After taking required courses in math, science and language arts, students choose the courses they wish to take, with the guidance of the counselor and/or teachers. In cases where it may be necessary to limit registration, teachers are cautioned to consider racial breakdown as well as class size.

There is a concentration of black students in low ability classes. This results partly from the poor preparation of students at the lower levels and the widespread tendency of black students to register for classes with their friends. As one black high school teacher remarked "there is a real need to challenge black students in the right direction. As a group, they tend to seek the easiest way out without understanding the consequences..." Another black teacher of social studies worries that "the life goals of too many black students don't require that they take high achieving classes."

A breakdown of the courses of one high school visited (sse Figure 2 attached) shows that while the social studies and English classes are rather racially balanced, the advanced math classes are predominantly white. The Special Learning Behavior Problems classes are about 68% black. Part of the problem as ariculated by school personnel is laid to "poor parent participation and involvement in the student's education. They often never question their children taking only the easy, informal courses . . . ."

By observation, the pattern of seating revealed more sex segregation than racial--boys normally clustered with boys and girls with girls.

Support Services:

There is a mass of exemplary programs which delineate the school system's search for ways to build the necessary reality into the educational process and to assist students in achieving optimum learning. The programs are local, state, and federally funded and some receive support from private contributors. Across all levels of the school system there are some unique enrichment programs in the basic skills, media, vocational, technical and industrial education, art education, business and office education and foreign language. The focus of the programs is both prescriptive and diagnostic.

A notebook containing descriptions of some 300 special programs has been prepared by the district staff. The foreword written by the School Superindendent helps to give one a flavor of what is offered throughout the district.

FIGURE 2: BREAKDOWN of CLASS ENROLLMENTS BY RACE --- HIGH SCHOOL

MATH / SCIENCE

GRADE LEVEL	Adv. Algebra		Geometry		Calculus		Enriched Biology	
	Minority	Other	Minority	Other	Minority	Other	Minority	Other
10	0	1	9	8	0	0	5	7
11	1	15	6	4	0	1	2	1
12	3	4	1	0	0	3	0	0
Total	4	20	16	12	0	4	7	8

ENGLISH

GRADE LEVEL	Commun. Skills		Writing Lab		Commun. Skills (2)		Humanities	
	Minority	Other	Minority	Other	Minority	Other	Minority	Other
10	5	20	0	0	7	18	0	0
11	0	0	2	13	0	0	2	2
12	0	0	3	7	0	0	4	8
Total	5	20	5	20	7	18	6	10

SOCIAL STUDIES

GRADE LEVEL	Amer. History		American History (2)		Anc. Near East		Race Relations	
	Minority	Other	Minority	Other	Minority	Other	Minority	Other
10	5	16	4	20	0	3	5	3
11	1	3	1	2	3	8	4	3
12	2	3	0	0	2	13	12	3
Total	8	22	5	22	5	24	21	9

Report prepared for the Department of Health, Education & Welfare -- Pupil Sight Count by Race, October 8, 1973

Physics

Minority	Other
0	0
0	2
2	5
2	7

Acc. Adv. Algebra

Minority	Other
0	0
1	20
1	2
2	22

Elem. Algebra

Minority	Other
6	6
0	3
1	0
7	9

Math Analysis

Minority	Other
0	0
0	2
0	2
0	4

Chemistry

Minority	Other
0	0
0	8
2	7
2	15

Philosophy

Minority	Other
0	2
0	5
4	17
4	24

Speed Reading

Minority	Other
1	5
8	1
7	8
16	14

Speech

Minority	Other
2	5
0	6
2	5
4	16

SLBP

Minority	Other
20	5
22	7
10	3
52	15

EMR

Minority	Other
10	8
4	8
7	8
21	24

LANGUAGES

Spanish

Minority	Other
6	4
1	4
1	1
8	9

French I

Minority	Other
5	2
1	3
2	2
8	7

Russian

Minority	Other
0	5
1	4
0	5
1	14

FOREWORD

To the reader:

Exemplary means model; commendable; deserving imitation. The 300 programs described in this book are all those things. Together, they are an affirmation of the ingenuity and diversity of education.

Throughout Minneapolis, teachers and administrators have developed exemplary programs to challenge their students. For example:

> Harrison School fifth graders take a course on Children and the Law, thanks to the Minnesota State Bar Association.
>
> At Calhoun School, WISE volunteers direct an "I Like Me" program for kindergarten children with poor self-concepts.
>
> Mini-courses offered at Lowry Elementary School include such interesting options as mock trial, making a bike and stamp collecting.
>
> A cardboard carpentry project helps Douglas Elementary School children learn about group planning and decision-making as well as math, science, writing, art and design.
>
> At Mann, a Title I elementary school, a computerized math program is underway.
>
> Students at Lincoln Junior High can sign up for a minority history course called "Hot Pink and Purple Thang."
>
> Courses in construction and manufacturing have replaced the traditional industrial arts program at Sheridan Junior High.
>
> Central High's Magnet Program allows students to choose from a smorgasbord of more than 300 mini-courses four times a school year.
>
> A two-house student government program at Henry Junior-Senior High is aimed at intraschool communications and leadership training.
>
> Marshall University High's off-campus learning experiences program gives students a chance to pursue special interest areas in depth.
>
> At Vocational High, students can elect an English course that involves tutoring children at nearby Madison Elementary School.

In my visits to schools, I have seen many of these programs in action. My wish to share them with you prompted the publication of this book. Many of these programs could be adapted for use in other Minneapolis schools; and elsewhere. They provide scores of ideas on how to solve specific educational problems; how to utilize community resources; how to bring life and spirit to our children's education.

Sincerely,

John B. Davis, Jr.
Superintendent of Schools

JBD: cd 9/8/72
Minneapolis Public Schools
Minneapolis, Minnesota

The special services provide for individualized and flexible instruction, heightened student motivation, promotion of better social and academic development, more positive and supportive community attitudes, increased communications skills and enhancing of knowledge about different cultures.

The use of parent volunteers in many programs adds support service to the school system as well as increasing parent visibility and involvement. In addition to the parent volunteers, resource teachers are utilized in the elementary program and have proven invaluable to the classroom teachers. School aides, who are predominantly minority group members, have assumed the role of "ombudsman" due to their responsibility for accompanying the students who are being bused. In several cases when these students were asked if there was any special person within the school to whom they could go to discuss their problems, it was the school aide who was most often mentioned.

Counselors lend support to students through academic advisement and personal counseling - though to a lesser degree. In one school visited the guidance department has implemented a team approach to assisting students. The team is composed of a counselor, social worker and assistant principal. Students are generally assigned to a counselor on an alphabetical order scale. They have the option of requesting another counselor or social worker, if the original match does not prove satisfactory; they do not, however, have this option with regard to the assistant principal assigned to the team.

In another school setting, more typical of guidance department operations, the counselor meets with other support staff (school psychologist, social worker, etc.) on a regular basis to discuss problem cases referred by teachers. These referrals almost always concern behavioral problems which are usually handled within the school; few outside referrals are made. Learning problems are screened by the school psychologist in most cases and may result in ability assessment, perceptual testing, etc. Group counseling has been used effectively in such areas as self-concept, attitudes toward cooperation and responsibility; it is designed to foster understanding of self and others and self development. Individual counseling is used more in crisis situations.

In scheduled interviews with students, while they acknowledged the presence of counselors and teachers and their ability to help with academic questions, the consensus was that they preferred to take their personal problems to a friend or to a school aide. One counselor praised the aides in the school as "good community links" and credited them with being instrumental in diminishing the isolation and problems in the shcool and with contributing to a positive school and community climate.

Library resources, though not extensive, are widely used by students both out of interest and for class assignments.

Instructional Materials:

Teachers reported a city-wide change in textbooks which some felt inadequately covered the achievements and contributions of minorities. The district office has prepared a bibliography of materials pertaining to minority group experiences and this resource is available to school personnel.

The Task Force on Minority Cultures has been actively engaged in developing curriculum materials and study units which reflect ethnic population history and accomplishments. Even in the absence of a systematic way of ensuring that the materials are widely used, many teachers request the use of these resources on a regular basis.

Primarily the multi-ethnic materials are more appropriate to the social studies curriculum and are used most specifically in Black Studies courses. A major complaint has been the lack of suitable multi-ethnic materials in English and unrelatedness of audio-visuals and home economic materials to the black or minority environment. Many teachers prepare their own materials to meet the levels of interests--and demands--of the students and also make wide use of current events materials.

Acknowledging that the use of interracial materials is new, the majority of teachers note that basically there is a better format to these materials which lends to their usefulness for class instruction. One instructor who agreed that there is not enough black and Indian material available, remarked that "it doesn't make any difference anyway because there is so much assimilation in the materials."

The implementation of new service programs, some of which are school sponsored and supported, has resulted in additional instructional materials oriented to the special needs for which the programs are designed.

Curriculum Modifications;

Curriculum modifications have been minimal in comparison to some of the structural changes which have been instituted. New courses have been added to the curriculum, but few of the traditional courses have been updated.

Mini courses are prevalent in some of the elmentary schools which reflect offerings in social studies, science and art. As a general rule, each child, with parent guidance, selects two mini courses each semester from each of the three areas. Multi-age grouping is utilized for these subjects. In one of the elementary schools, the wealth of mini-course offerings included:

Electricity -- Who Am I?
Living Together
Painting
Sculpture
How Does a School Work?
Pet Care
Design
Communities
Economics
Preparing Food
Nutrition
History
Let's Use the Media Center
Signs of Love

There have also been revisions made in the math program since desegregation process. A new reading program was implemented in one of the elementary school clusters, and a wide range of elective offerings are in evidence throughout the upper grade levels. World History no longer is listed as a required course in the secondary curriculum, and courses in Indian Culture and Afro-American History are currently noted among the the offerings. This change has been brought about partly through the efforts of students.

The focus on group counseling as a means of dealing with personal problems of students has resulted in a planned course called Positive Peer Counseling (PPC). In one of the schools where the students are very receptive to the group activity the scheduled period was 1 1/2 hours. School counselors and social studies teachers usually serve as staff for these courses.

The structural changes relate to the establishment of the trimester system and the elective system which affords students a broader range of choices in taking courses. In addition some schools use registration procedures similar to those used in colleges. Flexible scheduling is practiced in many schools. An example of the orientation and registration procedures, and of the new and supplemental course description for one of the high schools can be seen on the following pages.

It was the expressed opinion of most of the personnel interviewed that the administration, from the central office to individual school administrators, permits and encourages experiments and alternatives in curriculum and in teaching methods.

The range of elective offerings at the secondary level and the spread of student abilities necessitate alternative teaching methods. The The use of multi-ethnic materials which often elicit emotional responses also increase the need for handling sensitive subject matter through various techniques. Teachers stated their belief that education is no longer strictly academic, but that it calls for more involvement on the part of school personnel in the total development of the student. In keeping with this belief, teachers are quite flexible in attempting new teaching methods to reach the new student population.

The Continuous Progress Program, team teaching techniques and the move toward upgraded classes all denote changes in teaching methods and class classroom strategies.

In addition to providing for expanded opportunities for student participation through library research, field studies and reporting, teachers make wider use of video tapes, films and role playing as teaching devices.

Extra-Curricular Activities

Schools in district offer a variety of extra-curricular activities. The list below is not intended to be exhaustive, but does present an adequate example of the type of activities reported by school personnel, some of which were observed by team members;

Basketball
Football
Hockey
Skiing
Swimming
Tennis
Volley ball
Cheering Squads
Majorettes
Future Teachers
of America

Drama Club/Theater
Debating Team
Foreign Language Club
Choirs
Concert Band/Regular Band
School Newspaper
Student Government
Chess Club
FHA Club

There were no reports of any activities either curtailed or stopped as a result of desegregation. However, the repeated responses to questions which related to the extent of black student involvement were negative in the majority of cases. Blacks were in nearly balanced positions on the cheering teams, theater, choirs, volleyball, and football; in more cases than not they represented a majority on basketball teams. But in tennis, hockey, and skiing, there was likely to be little or no minority participation. Majorettes were viewed more as an elitist predominantly white group.

One coach at the junior high school level mentioned that 7th and 8th grade students do play hockey and projected that perhaps "they will continue to play when they enter high school." One of the basic reasons given for the absence of blacks in such sports as skiing and hockey was because of economics. Equipment for these sports is expensive. Some teachers see a change taking place inasmuch as black parents are making greater sacrifices to buy the equipment and Park Departments are doing more in the area of providing opportunities for disadvantaged youth. Team sports are not conducted on an interschool basis at the junior high school level. These activities are usually conducted by church, Parks and Recreation Department. Some teams choose to identify themselves by their school name.

Minority students do participate in school government, in dramatic clubs and on the school newspaper, but the percent of minorities is small. Most of these activities have 80% and above white representation. At specific schools, students mentioned that black students had served as Homecoming Queens, as President of Student Government and in capacities of leadership in a scattering of student clubs. Basically both teachers and students referred to the void of student participation in some extra-curricular activities as more a preference than a policy of exclusion. However, there was recognition that many of the organizations and activities had been traditionally white oriented and that school administrators and teachers do very little conscientiously to encourage minority participation. Also, some of the schools have inadequate physical facilities for gym activities.

Student Leadership -- Participation

Black students and other minorities are beginning to participate more actively in extra-curricular activities and to assume leadership roles in school affairs. A black, male, junior high school student related how he had been constantly encouraged to aim high by a white 5th grade teacher, even in the face of almost total failure. As he put it, "she turned me around". He is now vice-president of student government organization, is assisting with setting up the magnet program in his school, has given several suggestions to the school about establishing a radio station, a school yearbook, and a course in Ethnic Studies which he believes school officials are really taking seriously. The student, following through on past encouragement, seeks ways in which he might actively contribute to his school environment. However, the general feeling expressed by teachers and counselors interviewed was that most black students shy away from leadership positions, even with encouragement by staff to assume such positions. One respondent voiced it another way in commenting that "black males have a big share of status power through athletics, whereas white males have status through intellectualy accomplishments -- classroom power. Girls of either race have little or no status outlets."

Assignment Patterns of Faculty, Administrators and Staff

Although there is evidence of attempts to desegregate school staffs, the deployment of faculty and administrators, as of the 1973-74 Personnel Sight Count, falls somewhat short of the intent of the Court order which stipulated a definite pattern for faculty integration. There were two elementary schools which reported no minority administrators or certified teachers. The overall percentage of minority personnel in the schools is about 7 percent below that of minority student enrollment.

The tables which follow show summary statistics by racial/ethnic categories for the period 1969 to 1973 (figure 4), personnel sight count for 1973-74 (Figure 5,), and a breakdown of the number of principals, assistant principals and teachers by traditional school grade levles, not including

FROM 1969 TO 1973

PERSONNEL

RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY	1969 NO.	1969 PCT.	1970 NO.	1970 PCT.	1971 NO.	1971 PCT.	1972 NO.	1972 PCT.	1973 NO.	1973 PCT.
NATIVE AMERICANS	32	0.5	48	0.8	46	0.7	53	0.8	94	1.3
BLACK AMERICANS	355	5.8	395	6.1	439	6.5	514	7.6	569	7.9
ASIAN AMERICANS	20	0.3	22	0.3	23	0.3	30	0.4	37	0.5
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICANS	10	0.2	16	0.2	26	0.4	21	0.3	34	0.5
ALL OTHER AMERICANS	5,746	93.2	5,956	92.5	6,198	92.1	6,190	90.9	6,438	89.8
TOTAL STAFF	6,163	100.0	6,437	99.9	6,732	100.0	6,808	100.0	7,172	100.0
(TOTAL MINORITY STAFF)	417	6.8	481	7.5	534	7.9	618	9.1	734	10.2

*RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORIES AS DEFINED BY DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.

FIGURE 5

1973-74 Pupil Personnel Sight Count, Minneapolis Public Schools, Planning and Support Services

Racial/Ethnic Category	Principal	Assistant Principal	Teachers	Other Certified	Non-Certified
Native American	1	1	15	9	94
Black American	6	12	200	58	569
Asian American	1	-	24	4	37
Spanish Surnamed American	-	-	15	10	34
All Other Americans	87	59	2,660	793	6,480
	95	72	2,914	874	7,214

Personnel Breakdown by Percentages:		
	Native American	0.5%
	Black American	8.0%
	Asian American	1.0%
	Spanish Surnamed American	0.5%
	All Other Americans	90.0%
		100.0%

FIGURE 6

School Grade Level	Students Total	Students Min.	Students %	Principal Total	Principal Min.	Principal %	Asst. Princ. Total	Asst. Princ. Min.	Asst. Princ. %	Teachers Total	Teachers Min.	Teachers %
Elementary (66 Schools)	29,219	5,828	19.95	59	5	847	16	2	12.20	1,250	93	7.44
Junior High (15 schools)	13,963	2,481	17.77	15	2	13.33	24	5	20.83	670	69	10.29
Senior High (11 schools)	15,651	2,119	13.54	11	1	9.09	25	5	20.0	748	68	9.09

Figures represent only Elementary, Junior High and Senior High Schools and do not include other locations.

other locations in the Minneapolis system (figure (6).

An analysis of the interview reports obtained from principals, teachers and counselors reveal that the staffs were basically stable in service to the district, while there were varying indications of reassignments.

Of the ten principals interviewed (nine white males, one black female), eight had served as assistant principals in the same or other locations before assuming position as principal, one was a former counselor and one a 5-6th grade teacher. As a group, they represent an average of 10.5 years of experience in the district, with individual service ranging from three to twenty-one years. Six of the ten principals had been reassigned; only one principal had been in the present position less than a year (black female) while the others had served from one to eight years, with a group average of 3.2 years. The black female held the only doctorate within the group; other degrees held were 6 masters, 2 baccalaureates, 1 specialist, all having credits beyond the limits of the degree.

Seventeen teachers were interviewed (11 white, 6 black; 9 male, 8 female). This group represented an average of 10.1 years of service in the school district with individual years of service ranging from 2 to 36 years. Eight teachers of the 17 interviewed had served three years or less in their present assignment, with a group average of 5.2 years. There were six teachers with the master's degree, eleven with the baccalaureate, and the majority of all teachers reported academic credits in excess of the degree.

One of the six counselors interviewed had been reassigned since the schools were desegregated. The five white and 1 black counselor in the group (4 male, 2 female) represented an average of 10 years with the system with individual service ranging from 7 to 14 years. The number of years in the present school ranged from 2 years to 14 years, with a group average of 6.8 years. All of the counselors reported the M.A. as the highest degree held.

Among the personnel interviewed there were none completely new to the minneapolis system, although a minimal number had been employed at the start of the desegregation process, as indicated by two and three years with the district.

Assignment of Students by Subject and Subject Difficulty

In a majority of the classrooms observed, and as indicated in discussions with school faculty and students, minority group students, particularly black students, are underrepresented in advanced courses at the high school level. This is explained as resulting mostly from poor training and little encouragement at the lower grade levels, lack of basic skills, mainly in reading and math, high rates of absenteeism, and the fact that there is free choice of subjects at the secondary level.

A black math teacher at one of the junior high schools reported teaching two advanced geometry classes which were totally white and two

ESAA math classes which were predominantly black. The black students had been transferred from a formerly all-black school. She commented that:

> "one of the problems faced by the Math Department is the low ability of black students in mathematical skills. Part of the continuing problem is related to the loss of Title I funds following the transfer of students to this school, and and the lack of subsequent structures and resources which facilitate their development."

A white junior high social studies teacher expressed the problem as one of poor reading skills. He stated that "the poor reading ability of the students who transferred from __________ junior high school presents a real challenge to our staff as this school has been noted for its pride in the number of high achieving students."

In another interview with the chairman of the Math Department and a math teacher (both white) in a high school it was stated that "most of the blacks are concentrated in low achieving classes." The reasons given related to a lack of individual attention to slow students because of a cut in funds for teachers, and the poor preparation of minority students in the lower grades.

A black social studies teacher in a high school teaches two Black History courses which have a predominantly black enrollment. His response to why there was a disproportionate number of black students in particular cases was "the further away we get from black areas, the less blacks there are in the classes." Somewhat similar to this viewpoint concerning courses relevant to blacks was that of another white math teacher who felt that, besides having problems in the basic skills, "black students may not see math as a priority and many may see math as contradictory to emphasis on black studies, etc."

Even though they have options in course selection, a group of ninth grade minority students reported that they often "choose any old schedule." The student also noted very little attention to grades and expressed their beliefs that the largest number of black students would likely be found in health, chess, cooking and Afro-American History classes (all elective courses).

Of the three groups of white students interviewed, two at the junior high and one at the senior high level, the feelings expressed were that "blacks only compete in sports . . . not academic things, they don't care about that." One junior high student talked about the very low number of black students who graduate from high school, and stated that "In my opinion half of them aren't interested in school." In response to the question "Do you find a division of races in the honors class?" some high school students said "No, there is equal representation of blacks according to the proportion in school. That's true in Physics, also." In another instance, white students mentioned that black students generally take Algebra spread over two years while the same material is covered in one year by white students.

A black male teacher remarked about the lack of or need for tight structure in the high achieving classes and concluded that "black students in particular need structure. They simply do not apply themselves." More consensus was found among teachers in reports that courses taught by black teachers have larger numbers of black students -- partly because students tend to select courses according to teachers' friendships, as well as to interests and ability.

Elementary schools in the vast majority of cases reported no disproportionate representation of any race by classes.

Social and Friendship Patterns of Students, Staff and Faculty

There were varied responses to questions relating to the extent of social and friendship patterns within the school setting. Many faculty members noted a "normal" separation of minority and majority students, although the separation was sometimes seen more according to social class than to race. Students reported very minimal interaction among black and white faculty.

Among teachers' comments about student interactions were the following:

> "Students stick together with their friends (neighborhood and early schools). This means blacks are with blacks and whites with whites -- except for a few cases." (High School)
>
> "There is not much interaction between black and white students. There is definitely not much closeness." (High School)
>
> "The students interact in every setting where they have the choice. Peer pressure forces students to act in many different ways." (Junior High School)
>
> "Great lack of interaction between blacks and whites. Also, you don't see white upper and middle class interacting with either blacks or poor whites from the surrounding areas."
>
> "Students group themselves almost completely in all activities; very poor student interaction, even in sports." (High School)
>
> "Grouping occurs more between social class groups (middle class blacks and middle class whites). Not much mixing between the races, but there is little hostility or physical conflict." (High School)

"Not much mixing after school. White kids are bused and black kids live in the neighborhood. There are a couple of integrated groups." (Junior High School)

"Groups of students are normally divided by race." (High School)

"There is a great deal of interacting across racial lines. Since there is a small group and the staff is interracial we find it is good to promote interaction in class activities." (Junior High School)

"Interaction is based on SES. Basically I think we have a class society. Problems are more a result of this than of race." (Junior High School)

A white junior high school teacher spoke about special dinners prepared by students who were taking a course in Mid-East Culture. He saw these as opportunities to know other cultures and to build relationships, but sadly noted that he was most often the only white in attendance.

Elementary school teachers, for the most part, did not respond to the question concerning how students group themselves by ethnic group in particular situations. Those who did answer reported some separate grouping of children before and after school and in school halls, but in all cases to a very limited extent. There were some optimistic reports of signs of new friendship patterns emerging on almost every level.

Students responded from a variety of viewpoints with respect to the degree of minority and majority interactions in and out of school, as can be delineated from the following comments.

A male Chicano Junior High School student who is president of the student organization noted that "many students are bused to school and racial mixes occur in the shop and gym before school." He mentioned that he has attended cross-racial parties and has friends of different ethnic identities, and feels that girls fight and create more racial problems than do boys.

A white junior high school girl commented, "I have friends from all over Minneapolis; lots of black and Indian friends . . . the boys generally mix, but the girls don't." In the same school, a white male student expressed his belief that "black and white kids get along pretty good now because we have gotten to know each other. He named his two best friends as a black and an Indian with whom he shares team membership at the YMCA. "I think sports help to bring black and white students together."

At another junior high school, a white boy related how he feared being pushed around after the transfer to his new location, but said, "later you get friends, black and white, and you get along good." His peer, a white girl who lives in an all-white neighborhood, explained that it depends on where you live. " So I have friends and school friends. At home it's all white, at school it's mixed."

A black boy and an Indian girl explained that they both had friends from all racial groups in the school. The boy declared that "my best friend is white." The majority of the black students noted sports as the arena in which interactions take place.

In a group interview with six white high school students (both boys and girls) the consensus was "It depends on who you are talking about. There are a lot of black and white students who prefer to stay with their own race, while others just mix and mingle."

One girl in the group said that she has "a good friend who is black." Two students expressed the thought that "you have to be extra sensitive with black kids you meet because blacks and whites alike are aware of hundreds of years of suppression suffered by blacks and blacks are very sensitive to this."

In a smaller group of white high school students (2 girls, 1 boy) the response was negative. "In school the blacks stay together and the whites stay together. There are very few exceptions!" These students were not aware of any socializing between races after school and stated the reason for this as primarily because blacks and whites live in different areas.

Another group of six high school boys and girls related the separation of races which occurs in the school cafeteria. "The way it is is white boys and girls on each side and black students in the middle by themselves. The black boys and girls are separated, too." One boy who had lived with a black family and a Chinese family mentioned that parties in the neighborhood were O.K. He was chided into agreeing with others in the group that in most instances "if black students are around white students they're fine, but if they are around other black students that's different; they have to protect their reputation. Then, they act like they don't even know you!"

Some of the white girls admitted to interracial dating, but quickly stated that their parents were unaware of it and probably would not approve. In only one instance was there knowledge among the students about interracial dating between a white male and black female.

In most instances faculty noted a similar variance of teacher interaction within the schools. Their comments ranged from "teachers mix very well," as reported by a white male junior high school teacher, to "teachers are tolerant of each other -- it's superficial but they have to work together," as commented by a black female teacher in another junior high school.

Other views relative to the degree of teacher interaction were:

"There is some grouping along racial lines, though not nearly to the extent that students do." (Black male, High School)

> "Interaction is good, much better than students. We have some differences in philosophy and interest, but there is a steady coming together." (White male, High School)

> A black high school teacher noting the same instances of faculty separation also commented that "there's too much talking at the black teachers in meetings and not enough exchange."

> One black female elementary teacher stated that she felt very comfortable in the presence of whites at the school, and continued the remark with "but, I don't go to their homes and they don't come to mine. Perhaps it's the distance, but several of them live near me -- and still no exchange."

A black teacher at the junior high level, who has twenty-five plus years of service with the school, finds whites congenial " . . . perhaps because I've been here a long time and I mix with everybody." She is of the opinion that women don't attend outside school affairs but most men do.

There were only two comments made which suggested a conscious effort for outside interrelationships. The occasion of a retirement party for a white female high school principal led to a spirit of cooperativeness and fellowship between blacks and whites, both groups of whom were well represented. A white male junior high school teacher mentioned unstructured activities "like going for beers after work," which involved aides, teachers and staff with "no thought as to status distinctions. Beyond staff meetings and the Human Relations Workshops there were no planned activities to foster personal teacher and staff relationships.

Student Evaluation and Discipline:

The questions relating to student evaluation and discipline were considered important aspects in the life of the student and for the general well-being of the schools. For these reasons, all levels of the school population were asked to give their views on the equality of grading and disciplining minority and majority students.

As a group, principals reported that classroom teachers and staff are permitted to handle discipline problems in the school. In most instances, they emphatically state that "no hitting is allowed; in some others the question is avoided. Many of the problems are seen as a result of outside interference, but none are considered unmanageable. One of the major concerns principals expressed was that of attendance. One high school in particular noted an extremely high absentee rate. The qustion of educational relevance was noted as a major cause for this.

A white male counselor in a junior high school noted that counselors had dealt with teachers and other staff regarding double standards in the treatment of students, which they believed to be the results of prejudices and insecurity. He stated, however, that a number of good changes have taken place among school personnel and believes there is evidence that there is much more confronting properly without reference to particular students.

Two female high school counselors interviewed, one black, one white, both felt that discipline in their school was poor for both black and white students as a result of the laxity of administrators and teachers in enforcing the school regulations. Of the six counselors interviewed, most indicated no patterns of differentiation made in dispensing discipline or grading students based on their ethnic background.

Teacher reaction was somewhat different. Both black female and black male high school teachers discussed what they perceived as clear evidence of fear of black students on the part of white teachers. One of them stated that "white teachers have double standards when it comes to black students. They tend to accept certain behaviors from blacks that they do not accept from whites."

Somewhat the same sentiments were expressed by a white high school teacher of English. In her opinion:

> "There is a double standard of discipline used. Blacks are allowed to break certain rules and are not reprimanded by some white teachers. This is partly because of fear. However, black teachers treat black and white students differently also; they are more lenient toward white students."

One white high school teacher terms what might be considered discipline problems as "blacks usually don't want to listen. It's nothing serious; they are just more verbal." She, as well as her colleagues were of the opinion that blacks are given preferential treatment in terms of grades. There was generally the reverse response from other teachers with respect to preferences in the grading system used.

When queried as to how they saw their teachers who were of a race different from their own the majority of the students, both minority and white, expressed no particular preference for a teacher based on race.

WM	"most of them are pretty good"
WF	"same as white teachers"
WM	"no differences. I never compared them consciously"
BF	"they're okay"
BM	"my teacher turned me around. She really has things together!"
SSM	"there really doesn't seem to be any difference."
BM	"they're all right, especially if they're not prejudiced."
WM	"some black and white teachers are both good and bad."

Individually some white students thought some of the white teachers were afraid of black students because the seemed to ignore their acting out in class. One student remarked that "black teachers don't let black students get away with the things white teachers let them get away with. White teachers are afraid." A group of white students reported a slight trace of black teachers having better control over white students than white teachers do over black students in the classroom, but felt this to be more a matter of the degree to which students behave in classes. Some in the group saw white students as being disrespectful of black teachers, and others told of repeated instances of black student insults to white teachers.

In the main, black students interviewed saw their white teachers as fair. Some students voiced a desire for more black teachers while others stated that they would not be bothered if they had no black teachers. One of the junior high school students who found white teachers "all right" told of an incident in which the teacher referred to black students as animals. Upon reporting the mishap to the counselor the student was advised not to give the teacher a reason to get angry with the explanation that "she does this with all students."

In some of the school settings, concerted efforts have been made to clarify goals and to develop behavioral objectives. These efforts have been instrumental in easing problems and have led to definite changes in attitudes on the part of teachers, staff and students. Relationships with parents have also improved across levels.

One move to reduce discipline problems, as instituted in a few of the schools, is that of assigning police liaison officers to school buildings. These are plain clothes juvenile officers who work on either a full-time or part-time basis, upon the request of school administrators, to ensure compliance with the local Trespass Ordinance (expelled students are not allowed on school premises), and to assist school staff in curbing undesirable school behavior. It is believed that the young officers have very good rapport with students and that they do not pose a threat of any kind.

CHAPTER V - PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF SCHOOL PARTICIPANTS TOWARD PLAN, PROGRAM AND PRACTICES

As one measure of better understanding the climate which prevailed during the initial stages of desegregation in Minneapolis, and current views the citizens now hold with respect to the plan, programs and practices, specific questions germane to those topics were asked to representative members of the school community. Some of the comments from administrators, teachers, counselors and students are dispersed throughout earlier sections of this report. Further insights from this group, as well as those from parents, will constitute the focus of this chapter.

Principals

On the whole, principals reported active involvement in developing program guidelines defining goals and objectives for meeting special facilitative aspects of the plan, planning for effective clustering of schools, designing human relations activities, meeting with central personnel, school and community groups and assisting with minority recruitment efforts. Most of the principals expressed a high commitment to the desegregation endeavor and to the challenges it presents to the educational community. There were some adverse reactions to the Board's mandate for a specified number of human relations sessions and some administrators felt that there was a lack of sufficient competent leadership in this area.

Teachers

Of the seventeen teachers interviewed, three expressed having only a vague familiarity with the plan before it was implemented; two of these had been with the system less than three years. The overwhelming majority of teachers spoke about various levels and degrees of involvement both before and after implementation of the district's plan. The levels of involvement included:

-assessment of needs and goals for desegregating schools;
-sharing information and exchanging views in meetings with central office staff, school staff, professional organizations and community groups; small gatherings with parents and students;
-assisting with school cluster plans;
-designing classroom program models;
-planning for and participating in city-wide human relations training; in-service training;
-forming faculty/student council for coordination of efforts in resolving problems;
-service on Information Bureau for disseminating information about the plan.

Teachers generally approved of the administration's plan, and with few exceptions, felt that the district had been very conscientious in finding ways to actively involve them at all stages. In near-total agreement, they related that statements concerning the plan which emanated from the district office were "clear, informative and comprehensive."

In response to the question which asked for concerns about the plan that were expressed by the teaching staff, there were several expressed with which the teachers as a group seemed to agree: reassignment/placement; major organizational changes; academic disparities among students. There were also comments which raised concerns about student discipline, poor interactional patterns between black and white students, and staff, meeting the needs of new students, and the fear of white flight from the school system, although there was not concordance on these points.

Black teachers expressed particular worries about the possible loss of compensatory programs for minority students and about the critical need for additional minority teachers and programs relevant to minority students. In the majority of instances, black teachers referred to white teachers as being "uptight about desegregation" and as being "fearful of discipline problems".

On the other hand, white teachers were most vocal about what they termed "the loss of the neighborhood schools," and their feelings that compulsory attendance for human relations training has created much antagonism; that methods were unproductive and "a waste of time." Probably the most consistent indications of negative positions about any aspects of desegregation progress were on the topic of human relations training. Some of the comments were suggestive of better ways the session might have been handled, while others were more outright criticisms of the objectives and goals of the program. Teachers indicated their feelings about human relations training in response to at least one of four different questionnaire items (there were no items on the questionnaire which directly mention human relations training):

1. Explain how the district prepared staff for desegregation.
2. List the major concerns about the desegregation plan that were expressed by the teaching staff.
3. Describe how your school involved the teaching staff in its plans and activities.
4. Describe any special attempts made by your school to better prepare staff for desegregation.
5. List the major concerns of staff in your school about desegregation.

In most cases, the comments regarding human relations were more extensive than any other comments elicited from teachers on relevant areas of the plan. Some of these are noted below:

> "I would have preferred an extensive training session on human rights over the summer for staff and students."

> "I'm not sure that 60 hours is going to make anyone a master human relator. I don't know what their objectives were, whoever set it up."

> "They should set up a stringent human relations program well ahead of the desegregation task. That process can't be hurried. Here we did some things backwards, like the appointment of the human relations chairman after the mandate."
>
> "Colleges should place more emphasis on human relations in teacher training."
>
> "Faculty feel put upon by these compulsory human relations sessions."
>
> "Human relations meetings have not been very successful. They caused some antagonism about compulsory attendance. I think they need more expertise."
>
> "Everybody thought it was a waste of time. Whites looked upon human relations as a means of sitting around making jokes."

For other areas, there were basically positive feelings about the continuing efforts of the central administration and individual school administrators in responding to the apprehensions and special concerns at all levels, and the consensus was that "things are better now than, say, two years ago."

Counselors

Counselors interviewed were involved in a number of committees which were set up to further communications about the plan. Some initiated "coffee parties" on neighborhood blocks for more personal articulation of the plan with parent groups, led group sessions with students to air feelings and grievances, facilitated sessions to sensitize staff, and participated in desegregation institutes to learn first-hand of other plans which had been implemented in other sections of the country. In many instances counselors were used as a "sounding board for students, staff and the community," and assumed the role of intermediary in conveying feelings of this constituency in order to have their views represented in decision-making.

Counselors were more apt to see discipline problems across racial lines, and most expressed the feeling that the major concerns were not discipline problems, but more related to the need to revise curriculum to meet the needs of new students, and to foster respect for all students among faculty and staff. There were reports that in too many instances transferred students, particularly minority students, were being referred to by the name of the school from which they transferred rather than by their proper names. This act served to alienate students and to make them feel like "outsiders," alien to the school environment.

A counselor (white) in the junior high school noted that "here, counselors assist in developing programs to reflect the life experiences of minority students." He noted their present efforts to institute changes in the music programs and commented "that department needs to change more than than any other; they're still using 18th century Christmas carols that even I can't relate to."

In the main, statements made indicated that counselors have seen a number of good changes take place. One counselor ended the interview with the assessment that:

> "Everyone has worked ten times harder than I've ever seen them work before and really have worked together as a team. There has been a keen awareness of weak links -- some have changed; some have left the system.
>
> I'm glad to be here at _____. This has been my best year, in spite of what my friends think."

Parents

Both formal and informal interviews were held with parents and community persons in order to hear their views concerning the developments in the desegregation efforts and their attitudes about the process. The total of thirteen included eleven parents who represented the elementary through high school grade levels. In terms of ethnic representation there were seven blacks (6 females, 1 male) and six whites (all females). With spontaneous spurts of emotions in evidence, parents responded very candidly to all questions raised with them.

All of the parents interviewed spoke of being involved in plans to desegregate the schools through PTA's, community meetings, both in large forums and in small group meetings in individual homes, and in open Board meetings. While some felt that the large community meetings provided for very little community input, others thought that the provisions for broad exchange between different community factions were very helpful in building support for the plan.

Parental concerns centered maily around the following issues:

Clustering of schools - "Clusters are not going to work! It makes no sense to put 6th graders in the primary section."

Quality of education - "There's certainly less than quality education in the schools now."

"A lot of white parents and teachers feel the involvement of a few black students will run the school down."

"The curriculum needs to be changed, and especially some of the textbooks in the Humanities, History and Music."

"When junior high kids graduate and go to high school they don't have enough vocabulary and enough skills to deal with high school so they fail again. They need training in penmanship and spelling, and speech, ear and eye tests."

"Title I funding has been cut, which means a loss of good, quality programs for those students who were in special programs and and small classes before."

Treatment of students - "There's an assumption here that black kids don't know anything and that they lack stimulation."

"Some students bring so many problems from home. The kitchen help complains because they don't understand why kids want two lunches. They are hungry! This might be the only food they have all day."

"They're phasing out __________ because it's predominantly black; they could just as well have closed __________. Black kids always have to bear the brunt of change."

"Teachers too often classify an area, and then refuse to be bothered with blacks or poor white children."

"Lots of white teachers have no experience in dealing with blacks so they practice double standards -- they allow black kids (as opposed to whites) to get away when they don't do what they say."

Inequity of Plan - "The whole thing is being done in piecemeal. Parents are concerned that even next year they are going to ask one segment of the community to desegregate while some schools will be left intact."

"Only two sections of the city have been taken -- North and South."

Teachers -- "All of them should be periodically reviewed. They need more than a school education; they need a lot of exposure to the area they work in."

"It's not enough for teachers to have good intentions. They should be carefully selected on the basis of how well they teach; how well they can produce positive results."

Human Relations - "Human relations is a waste! A lot of materials could have been purchased."

"I feel very strongly about the human relations -- in fact, I refuse to participate because it's another force. They're saying 'I'm coming into your neighborhood; you have to like me whether you want to or not.'"

"I don't like that office. It's a do-nothing office."

"As P.T.A. president of a grade school . . . I have been involved in human relations training in 3 schools for the last 5 years."

> "Most human relations workshops are run by all white with token black representation. It should very often be the reverse, or at least a sizeable black input."

On some topics, the range of personal opinions within this group were widespread. Two comments illustrate this most vividly:

> WF - "I do believe that it is important that to have quality education schools have to be integrated."

> BF - "I would rather my child go to an all black school with black faculty -- even to a black janitor. My husband and I can handle the social situation. Whites are just too superficial."

In spite of what may appear to be negative comments, parents indicated their awareness of strides being made toward improvements in education and one community person, who is referred to as an advocate for the students, noted that "both races had resentments, but all talk about desegregation has brought things into the open.

One of the parents who has children in several public schools has written a proposal with the objective of enhancing community support of the school through active involvement in school related activities. The project proposal seeks to make use of parent volunteers, working in cooperation with school staff, to facilitate communication between school and community and thus reinforce children's positive attitudes toward school. The proposal has been presented to one of the junior high schools in which the parent serves as a volunteer.

Students

Questions asked of students related more to their feelings about the desegregated school they attended than about the overall process.

As students discussed their perceptions and attitudes toward desegregation, they did so more in terms of what they considered unfair treatment, separateness and general fear. Children from the lower grades generally reflected on the concerns of their parents.

Four sixth grade white boys talked of the fear the children had at their school about the proposed clustering of schools next year. All of them had their entire education at their present small school and expressed some fright about being placed in new, bigger and more confusing buildings, having new tea teachers and meeting new people. One of the students remarked that "Busing to ______ means trouble. My mother said she would send me to a parochial school rather than let me be bused." Another student related that "It would be better to bus older kids because they can take care of themselves. The younge kids could get hurt." He continued with the concern voiced by his father:

"My father said that he would not let me be bused because it was slippery on the bridge. If he heard that there was an accident on a bus he would not know if that was my bus or my sister's bus and he would be worried."

A Chicano student was mostly pleased at being at his school and saw the facilities and organizational structure as such that foster student development. He did, however, comment on the need for blacks and whites "to get to know each other better."

With few exceptions, the statements from group interviews were mutually agreed upon, and denote not only the commonality of problems but ways in which group norms function to hold groups intact.

White Group - Junior High School

"It's a good school, but blacks get away with a lot. But, it's gradually coming to be less and less."

White Group - Junior High School

This group expressed generally good feeling about the school although they hinted of some traces of differential treatment of students. One student in the group, evaluating his first year in a desegregated school, spoke of his own state of bewilderment as he noted undertainties:

"I'm uneasy about it; just not used to it. I don't feel that I'm prejudiced, yet I must be prejudiced about something, but I don't know what it is."

Mixed Minority Group - Junior High School

Students generally preferred the desegregated setting, but thought most of the controversy over desegregation was related to the issue of busing. Two black boys joked about the irony of the situation as they saw nothing new in being bused, and one of them emphatically stated that he had been bused all of his school years.

Black Group - Junior High School

Comments from this group were quite varied on the question concerning the desegregated school environment.

"I don't like it."
"it's not the greatest school in the world."
"I think it's pretty good."
"What you come here for is to learn and I think you learn here."

There was more consensus within the group in their thinking that an all-black teaching staff would provide for better unity at the school. The students also voiced negative reactions to an assistant principal at the school who they believed had been unfair in excessive suspensions of minority students.

White Group - High School

The students were in their first year in a new school building and all agreed that the school atmosphere was satisfactory. They complained mostly about the building being "too spacious" and of the failure of staff to enforce the rules. None of them was particularly negative with respect to teachers or students of other ethnic groups.

There were indications also of changes in attitude as reflected in the comments of two white boys in another junior high school group interviewed. Referring to their transfer to a desegregated school, the first boy noted that "at the time, I wasn't too happy about it . . . All the bad things I had heard. But they didn't happen and so now I don't mind being here." The second boy gave his opposition in stronger terms -- "I hated it." He concluded, however, with remarks about the friends he had made, "white and black" and the fact that he gets along well with them.

The ways in which the desegregation process and implementation were viewed, and the varied perceptions and attitudes implicit in the statements give clues to a rather diversified school community and yet, a sense of coming together in a spirit of cooperative action.

In many instances, principals and individual staff members were credited with having made positive attempts to foster good relations among the different school groups and to build a creditable academic program for the ultimate development of students.

In practically every case, there was high, glowing praise for Dr. Davis, Superintendent of Schools. His leadership was described as "the best anywhere in the country" as different people from all avenues talked of his commitment, devotion, practicality and impartiality in dealing with people and with school issues.

CHAPTER VI - AN ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMS, PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES

In May 1972, the United States District Court, District of Minneapolis, found the Special School District No. 1, Minneapolis, Minnesota, had violated the Constitution in the administration of the district's schools in varied ways. The trial court decreed that:

> the defendants, its school board, its administrators, its employees, its agents and all those who are in active concert or participation with them are hereby permanently enjoined from discriminating on the basis of race or national origin in the operation of Special School District #1 or any successor district or districts which may be formed therefrom. Such injunction is directed particularly at, but not limited to, the discrimination in assignment of students and teachers within the district.

In accepting the district's plan, as adopted by School Board, the court directed that specific modifications be made in the plan; namely that there shall be no more than 35% minority student body in any one school, and that the plan for faculty integration shall be fully completed by the opening of the 1973-74 school year. The formula given for faculty integration included the directive that: (1) there shall be at least one minority teacher in all elementary schools; and (2) the faculties of the secondary schools shall be integrated to the extent that each has approximately the same proportion of minority to majority teachers as there are minority to majority teachers in the whole system.

The defendants were further directed to disallow transfers which would increase the segregated nature of the schools; to submit for court approval any plans for new schools or additions to schools beyond those contemplated in the plan; and any changes in the plan which would increase or aggravate existing segregation or delay full implementation; and to make periodic reports to the court on aspects of progress in implementation.

There were accompanying problems, some of which resulted from changes in the status quo. In accepting the district's plan as basically meeting constitutional requirements, some circles within the community felt that the court had not given sufficient weight to the district's previous failure to move substantially to change the segregated patterns in the school. Other circles felt that the court's decision did not give adequate recognition to the district's efforts to reduce racial isolation in the schools through its voluntary transfer program. The structure of neighborhoods throughout the city were such that busing would be required to implement the plan, and ther was very vocal opposition to this as a strategy for effecting change.

Those who brought suit against the district were concerned about the language of the court order, and moved to request court clarification in areas which had not been explicitly delineated, since it was felt the district made use of some loopholes to escape making court directed changes which touch community issues. The court had noted, and school board members had agreed, that public pressure not to integrate the schools was a factor largely responsible for the district's failure to take significant affirmative action to alleviate segregated conditions in the public schools.

Various community individuals saw the District's push for voluntary transfers as a vehicle to show the good intentions of the school district to move in an orderly fashion toward desegregation without unduly arousing the antagonism of the white power structure. Such a plan did not involve major structural changes in organization and no particular threat by virtue of its token involvement of minority groups.

Some factions of the school community saw this public pressure from the white power structure as a continuing force, evidenced by the exclusion of many affluent Minneapolis communities from the initial desegregation process. There were also advocates of desegregation who believed it to be nearly impossible to think in terms of integration with the city's current housing patterns, and they spoke more about the need to have had judicial action to break down district lines prior to instituting a desegregation plan. Opposition to the plan had been strongly voiced at the early stage of the plan and the district moved on several levels to ensure that there were opportunities for citizens to discuss the pros and cons of the plan in a suitable forum and that the information disseminated about the plan be factual and comprehensive, as well as widely distributed.

Prior to and during implementation there were some expressions of regret concerning time schedules of the plan mainly since it provided those communities not immediately affected with an interim for possible continuous opposition. Black parents were especially adamant about their children's having to be bused when there were others from more affluent neighborhoods who were permitted to "do things as usual . . . as if they were not a part of the District."

School personnel of various rank and tenure gave such opinions as:

> "The plan should have involved all changes in one step. This piece-meal approach only serves to reinforce negative attitudes." (Black math teacher -- 30+ years of service)
>
> "I wish the plan had called for complete desegregation all at once. One of our problems is the change every two years." (White H.S. principal -- 5+ years in the school)

Since change is very often a disruptive process, there is some merit to a clean sweep, rather than progressive steps which burden particular neighborhoods while others are saved the inconveniences. Practice with respect to changes as major as those which accompany the desegregation process has shown that once respected authorities take a position for desegregation it is easier for people to accept new and difficult situations. By and large, much of the opposition to the Minneapolis plan has subsided. Opponents, both inside and outside the system, have not all left the District, but they are not as vocal nor as visible as they once were. As one of the area superintendents noted, "people have quit talking about desegregation; they're now talking about what options in program they will have."

In relation to the District's philosophy and the objectives set forth for the desegregation of its schools, as outlined in the Desegregation/Integration Summary of Proposals for Consideration 1972-1975, the Minneapolis School District has made some admirable gains. These gains are reflected in its recruitment efforts for minority staff, the abundance of alternative programs which have been instituted in attempts to provide choices for students and parents, the efforts of the Task Force on Minority Cultures and efforts being made by a large segment of the teaching staff to find a match between the children's learning styles and their own teaching techniques. In several instances, individual schools have been able to garner community support at a level above what they might have expected. Principals, particularly at the elementary level, speak highly of the very active, though small, group of parents who volunteer service in various school activities and who continue to serve as information specialists for the larger community in support of their programs.

There is not yet the extent of teacher, staff or student interaction in the schools, as a whole, that could most effectively enhance the process, but as evidenced by many of the comments of the school community, there are reasons for optimism in this area as well.

There are no easily identifiable prescriptions for determining the right ingredients of effective desegregation but there are specific factors which tend to maximize successful desegregation efforts. For one, detailed competent planning which reduces fear and anxiety through active community participation has been shown to contribute significantly to the transitions the process of desegregation entails. This type of planning, together with the commitment many of the people brought to the process, appears to have been a plus for the Minneapolis District even in light of its failure to plan for full implementation.

Adequate funding from governmental and private sources for implementation of the process and programs and practices incident to it serves to ensure that the necessary changes do not vastly increase the tax burden on the district. As previously noted, innumerable programs have been planned and organized in the District which focus on the individual development of students and in-service training for staff. The special funded programs on the local, state and federal level, as well as those supported through private donations, have been used to provide for teacher workshops on human relations, special activities relating home and school in an educational partnership, as with the BAR program described in the Appendix, the development of curriculum materials, special developmental and alternative programs for studetns. There are also various training and enrichment programs which involve the parents and interested citizens. Reference to some of the specially funded programs is made in the section on Support Services.

Programmatic considerations in desegregation also include the ethnic distribution of staff and students, grouping patterns, in classes as well as other school-related activities and school support services and policies, to name but a few. To the degree that the schools have made some inroads in these areas there are positive indicaitons for future progress.

The Minneapolis School District Plan principally involved the transfer of students, clustering of schools, the closing of some attendance zones, teacher reassignments (without demotions or firings*), new school construction and human relations and in-service training. The most negative aspect of the Plan, as perceived by the school staff, was that of human relations. HOwever, the basis for many of the adverse comments related more to the compulsorty nature of the training than to the actual benefits derived from it. On the other hand, among the parents interviewed, reference was made most often to the projection that "next year we have to go through it again" . . . an obvious reference to the next stage of the desegregation plan.

As stated previously, there is clear evidence of growth and commitment in specific structural and programmmatic areas of desegregation in Minneapolis; there are also areas in interpersonal relationships and organizational techniques which demand attention, as reflected in comments made by those who are both contributors and receivers in the educational process of the District.

Any positive manifestations of the District's progress in meeting its goals of the 1970's -- and hence its desegregation objective -- will depend, in large measure, upon a consensus among the community and the schools to work for quality education of all students. One interviewer summarized his feeling of the current atmosphere as "We're doing it because it's right -- not hiding behind the court order." If this is so, perhaps consensus is not too far in the distant future.

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*In one particular school there were reports that as many as 1/3 of the teaching staff left at the onset of the Plan's implementation.

CHAPTER VII - INTEGRATION IN RETROSPECT: SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is important to note that in the initial trial of this case attention was given to the controversy over the exact meaning of the terms "desegregation" and "integration". As used by school administrators and by the plaintiffs, the terms were defined as:

Desegregation - the mixing of bodies

Integration - the combination of different racial groups into one society

The Court noted that neither the Supreme Court nor the lower Federal courts had distinguished between the two terms and amplified its intent to follow the legal pattern of using the two words as if they were synonymous throughout its Findings, Conclusions and Order.

The schools of Minneapolis do not constitute one society; and most of the citizens of Minneapolis would readily agree that the school district is not integrated. Most of the schools in the District are clearly desegregated and some might be characterized, more or less, as moving conscientiously toward integration. This situation is perhaps an inevitable dichotomy in such a large public school system.

With respect to programs and practices observed and on the basis of discussions with school and community people, the integration of faculty meets the minimum requirements of the Court directive, although there were at least two schools that had neither a minority administrator nor a minority certified teachers, according to the 1973-74 Pupil-Personnel Sight Count. The ethnic proportion of students per school had not been totally achieved, but the District is still within its time schedule which stipulates final implementation of the plan during the 1974-1975 school year.

The District shows some forward movement in the improvement of its educational program from several perspectives: modified course offerings, the development of Ethnic Studies courses, complemented by the formation of a special task force to develop and disseminate materials on ethnic cultures, changes in teaching techniques and some organizational structures; acquisition and construction of new school buildings and staff training.

The most serious problem appears to be related to the general absence of planned strategies to bring about better interactions among and between varying segments of the school population. Except in some sports where there were reports of minimal interaction, relationships among minority and majority students at the high school level were almost non-existent. It is true that hostilities among the races were diminishing somewhat and that peer pressure was highly active in preventing some coming together of different groups, but it was also made clear that there is little encouragement from school personnel to effect some change in this area. The general attitude appeared to be that, as long as there was no fighting or other disruptive behavior, let it be.

Although teachers reported a somewhat closer working relationship than was reported for students, the comment repeatedly was that it was superficial or only a matter of tolerance of one another. In some individual schools there were reported strains of student/teacher interactions or simply that they were not aware of each other. Even though there were four black teachers in one high school (who had been there all year) the group of black students interviewed were only aware of two black teachers in the school. They questioned why black faculty remain so invisible in the building. Around the same type of issue, black students who had been transferred into one of the junior high schools talked of never being called by their proper names. They were referred to as "School Transfers" when spoken to or discussed by staff. These students questioned how they can be fairly evaluated by teachers who don't really know them. The establishment of homeroom structures could provide the system whereby students and teachers could get to know one another, but such a structure does not exist in many of the schools.

A better sense of teacher-student sharing in the educational programs, both academic and school related, could undoubtedly aid in reducing discipline problems and in enhancing educational achievement.

It is the opinion of this writer that the recommendations elicited from those within the school community who have been actively involved in the desegregation process, some of whom have put in inordinate amounts of time and effort, would be much more meaningful than any which a team of researchers could make on the basis of a very limited on-site visit. Hence, the statements given are recorded without comment.

Teachers and principals were asked what practical guidelines they would offer the district in future desegregation planning or suggestions for improving the current desegregation plan. Their comments denote a keen awareness of some of the problems and complexities of the process in Special District No. 1 in Minneapolis.

Teachers:

The district should increase its efforts to secure teachers who desire and have proven abilities to teach in the inner city.

Discontinue the busing of children across District lines.

Complete commitment to actual implementation of the plan -- not partial or piece-meal.

More selectivity in recruitment of staff. Teachers do not have enough knowledge about the communities they work in.

Better communication among teaching staff and administration.

More involvement in the initial planning of all levles of the community in order to foster greater commitment to the plan.

Find ways to increase parent involvement with students. Finances would probably be a big factor -- some type of scholarship would help.

Desegregation should start at the lower levels -- elementary grades. The basic segregation at this level is boys with boys and girls with girls. After awhile the kids feel really more comfortable with each other.

More public relations people out in the community before the rumors make people have negative attutudes based on false information.

Schols need to integrate the curriculum more.

More structure, particularly for black students.

Don't force the issue -- let it be voluntary -- but this is probably impractical. But they should make the best attempts to hire teachers who can deal with the problems.

In-service training for transfer teachers.

We need to establish a better system to get teachers and students to meet each other; homeroom classes would be one-way.

We need to break down city District lines. The Board needs to work at that.

College should place more emphasis on human relations training for teachers. It must be an integral part of training at that level.

Principals:

Staffing of buildings should be decided in buildings -- not District-wide.

More time allotted for developing curriculum.

The new provisions for better student/community input.

Allocation of resources should be continuous. Constant cutoffs make long-range program planning difficult. Here we did some things backwards, like the appointment of the human relations chairman after the mandate. That person should be on the job very early in the game.

I would do things no differently, except to get more funds and more staff.

> Principals should have the opportunity to hire their own staff.
>
> Faculty should be asked to come up with a plan to train themselves for coping with the problems, without specifying the length of time needed.
>
> A more rational way of determining needed development areas for staff. I would like to have seen enough money and human resources to have done an extensive training session over the summer for staff and students.
>
> Avoid autidorium meetings; concentrate on smaller, more personal meetings.
>
> Most principals don't know what life is like in most of the communities their schools are in. They need to get out more into the community.
>
> We need more black teachers.

In summarizing key factors that have made for successful desegregation in the school district, such components as communications skills among teachers and support staff, more flexible academic program, promotion of the team-teaching method and an increasing willingness of teachers to be open with each other and to deal with conflict were mentioned most often.

On the whole, the consensus was that, in the words of one administrator:

> Minneapolis is moving fairly well. People seem to be accepting it much better this year. Next year is going to be the most significant year.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Minneapolis Public Schools Sight Count Pupil Enrollment 1968-1971

SUMMARY STATISTICS BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORIES[1]
FOR 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971

GROUP	1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NO.	PCT.	NO.	PCT.	NO.	PCT.	NO.	PCT.
American Indians	1,490	2.1	1,843	2.7	1,993	3.0	2,225	3.4
Black Americans	5,255	7.5	5,528	8.1	5,944	8.9	6,351	9.7
Oriental Americans	344	0.5	347	0.5	329	0.5	354	0.5
Spanish Surnamed Americans	427	0.6	448	0.7	461	0.7	536	0.8
All Other Americans	62,490	89.3	60,112	88.0	58,207	87.0	55,735	85.5
Totals	70,006	100.0	68,278	100.0	66,934	100.1[2]	65,201	99.9[2]
(Total Minority)	7,516	10.7	8,166	12.0	8,727	13.1	9,466	14.5

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[1] Racial/ethnic categories as defined by Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights

[2] Per Cents rounded to tenths.

Human Relations Guidelines For Minneapolis Public Education In the 1970's

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Special School District No. 1

Adopted by the Minneapolis,
Minnesota Board of Education
November 24, 1970

STATEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLE

The Minneapolis Board of Education is fully committed to providing quality education for all students. Because learning is a profoundly individual experience, the Minneapolis Board of Education reaffirms its commitment to education which enhances the dignity, worth, and uniqueness of the individual learner. Quality education requires educational experiences which enable students to master the basic skills of reading, arithmetic, and language arts, and equally important, to develop skills in human relations.

Although this country and this community have made strides toward better human relations, some evidence suggests the country is moving toward separate societies; in Minneapolis this could mean one Black, one Indian, one white; one wealthy, one poor. American society still maintains political and social institutions that deny some men just treatment, equal opportunity, and equal rights.

Every American has an equal right to a public education. Yet equal opportunity for education may be impaired or even destroyed by racial and economic segregation in public schools.

Lack of interracial contacts lead to fear, ignorance, prejudice, and racism. Students without interracial contacts will develop an inaccurate view of society and will be poorly prepared to participate effectively in a multi-racial community. To forego opportunities to educate students for a multi-racial society would be to fail them. Public Schools have the moral and educational obligation to deal deliberately and directly with the issues and problems of race, for the quality of our human relations is a key ingredient of good education.

In 1967, the Minneapolis Board of Education adopted the Human Relations Guidelines and instituted new programs with community and faculty support. Excellent education in Minneapolis in the coming decade will require new plans and an even greater effort. We cannot wait for housing patterns to change. Such a delay would deny quality integrated educational experiences to even more students than are currently deprived of such experiences.

It is fortunate that today there are students from minority groups in all Minneapolis Public Schools. This has permitted the opportunity for deeper and broader human relationships.

In this decade of excellence in Minneapolis public education, each school will be affected. Within the resources available to the school district each [illegible] experiences to develop his own potential fully.

AN EDUCATIONAL GOAL FOR THE 1370'S:

An educational goal of the Minneapolis Public Schools for the next decade is quality education for all students. A quality school is 1) a school which is well-equipped and well-staffed, 2) a school in which racial composition of the student body approximates the racial composition of the total student population in the Minneapolis Public Schools, 3) a school where there is a climate of mutual trust and respect among the student body, faculty and school community, and 4) a school where a significant majority of the students perform at or above acceptable minimum reading and computation performance levels.

The accomplishment of the Minneapolis goal of full commitment to quality education for all learners will require exceptional effort including appropriate resources directed to educationally unrepresentative schools.

STATEMENT OF DEFINITION:

A school is educationally unrepresentative when:

A. The percentage of minority group enrollment in the school exceeds two times the percentage of minority group enrollment of the Minneapolis school district. Minority group enrollment of the district shall be determined each year by the Minneapolis Public Schools' sight count.

B. The percentage of majority group enrollment in the individual school exceeds the percentage of majority group enrollment in the district.

C. A significant proportion of the student population performs below acceptable reading and computation levels established by city and national norms.

For the purpose of definition, the term "minority group" includes Black Americans, Indian Americans, and Spanish-Surnamed Americans. These terms were established by the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Majority group means Caucasian Americans.

RECOMMENDED PROGRAMS AND APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The following programs and approaches are recommended for expanding learning opportunities for students of Minneapolis Public Schools.

Urban Transfer Program

Students of majority group and minority group [illegible] guardians to participate in the Urban Transfer

Program 1) if such transfers will improve the racial composition in both the sending and receiving schools, and 2) if such transfers will not result in overcrowding in the receiving school. Receiving schools shall be allocated supportive staff to assist students and faculty. The receiving school shall automatically upon transfer become the new home attendance of the transferee and he shall continue through the secondary school. Transportation cost shall be furnished when needed.

Pilot Pairing Programs

The school year 1970-71 shall be a planning year for a variety of pilot programs to be instituted for the school year 1971-72. The school district supports, encourages and will facilitate pilot pairing programs between schools. Some elementary schools may be used to house primary age students, while others would house upper elementary age students. Some secondary schools may be reorganized to accomplish pairing.

New Buildings, Additions and Capital Improvements

New buildings and additions will be planned and built to draw a multi-racial population.

To the extent possible, portable classrooms will not be used as a solution for overcrowding. Useable classrooms in other schools will be used to relieve overcrowding. Students transported into the receiving school will be assigned to the regular classes along with students of the receiving schools. Overcrowding of the receiving school will not be permitted.

Size and organization of school buildings can be important in contributing to the implementation of these guidelines.

New elementary school buildings should not exceed 900 students. If more than one elementary school building is built on the same site the maximum size should not exceed 700 students.

Secondary schools may be organized on the house plan. Under the house plan the student body is divided into groups, each of which has its own administrative staff. Each "house" in a secondary school will contain approximately 700-1000 students. No secondary school shall have more than 3000 students.

Educational Centers and Learning Laboratories

Consideration will be given to the development of educational centers to serve upper elementary and junior high school age students. These centers will provide opportunities for a variety of enriching experiences in such areas as art, foreign languages, music, creative dramatics, science, and the performing arts. Students from a number of school attendance areas will attend at the same time. Similarly, learning laboratories will be established for high [illegible] varied experiences in such areas as computer technology, occupational training, and the performing arts.

The Quarter System

Consideration will be given to organizing high schools on a quarter system to allow students easier entry and exit as well as to make better use of learning laboratories, and other rich educational resources of the city. The quarter plans that have been implemented to date have divided the regular school year into four parts.

Magnet Schools and Magnet-Type Programs

Magnet programs are designed to attract students from other attendance areas for specialized programs. The magnet program that has been implemented at Central High School draws students from surrounding junior high districts.

Consideration will be given to the establishment of other magnet programs both elementary and secondary. These programs will be designed to provide a greater number of educational options to students while improving the racial distribution. Participation in these programs will be voluntary.

Basic Skills Improvement

The 1971 and future budgets will reflect a high priority for reading and the basic skills of writing, speaking and mathematics. Curriculum consultants in collaboration with the Departments of Elementary and Secondary Education and faculty will provide leadership in the establishment of city-wide objectives for reading, computational and communication skills. Intervention programs will be instituted in any school when a significant proportion of the student population is below acceptable levels.

Administrative Decentralization by the Development of Pyramids

There are currently two Pyramids, composed of groups of related schools. The further administrative decentralization into pyramids will facilitate delivery of services to children and faculty, and improve communication with parents and citizens. Fiscal control and policy determination shall remain the responsibility of the Minneapolis Board of Education.

Specialized Programs

1. City-wide observances and programs will be developed to celebrate American Indian Week, Black History Week, and National Brotherhood Week. As an extension of our effort to develop understanding and appreciation it would be appropriate to commemorate Americans from many racial and ethnic groups who have served humanity.
2. Cooperative educational programs shall be established among schools to allow students, faculties and parents from various groups to work together in such creative learning situations such as multi-racial retreats and music/art festivals.

Schools' Boundaries

Schools' boundaries will continue to be reviewed annually. Alteration of boundaries will depend upon factors such as safety, distance, transportation, integration, and capacity of buildings.

Curriculum Development

Curriculum is the heart of a sound program for quality education and is designed in part to prepare all students for life in a multi-racial community, nation, and world.

1. A comprehensive K-12 social studies program shall be required of all students, focusing on awareness to the American experience including all ethnic groups. Such a program is being developed by social studies curriculum consultants in collaboration with the faculty and shall be ready for implementation by Fall, 1973.
2. Contribution of minority and ethnic groups shall continue to be included in the regular curriculum, K-12. Minority history shall continue to be offered as a special elective in high schools.
3. Supplemental short units on minority and ethnic cultures shall be developed, tested, and implemented. The responsibility for development and implementation of such materials shall rest with the appropriate curriculum consultants working in collaboration with the Department of Intergroup Education.
4. Consideration shall be given to the establishment of minority cultural centers.
5. Effective September, 1970, the Task Force on Minority Cultures, under the direction of the Department of Intergroup Education, is focusing its efforts on staff development and teaching in predominantly Caucasian schools.
6. The principal and faculty of each school in the system will be encouraged to improve curriculum and implement new organizational patterns. Non-graded schools, team teaching, more individualized instruction and more independent study shall be encouraged.
7. Education materials will be reviewed periodically so that distortions, derogatory statements, and untruths can be eliminated. Minority group faculty will be represented on all evaluation committees reviewing any materials. The recommendations from such committees shall be coordinated through the Department of Intergroup Education.
8. Procedures for selecting learning materials shall be critically reviewed by representative faculty groups. Suppliers of learning materials will be apprised of the Minneapolis Public Schools policy regarding the necessity of honest and fair treatment of all groups.

Personnel Practices

1. Intensified efforts to increase the number of competent and qualified minority group administrators, teachers, and other school staff, and civil service personnel shall be continued.
2. New minority group teachers and administrative personnel will be assigned to schools throughout the system so that the faculty as well as the student population better reflects the racial composition of the total school district's student population.
3. Continuous efforts shall be made to recruit and maintain a cadre of teaching faculty and staff who are sensitive, competent and committed to the needs of the inner-city child.
4. Special attention shall be given to the recruitment of experienced and successful inner-city teachers.
5. Teacher training institutions, the State Department of Education and the Civil Service Commission will be encouraged to assist minority group persons to qualify for certification and placement at all levels within the Minneapolis Public Schools.
6. Experienced staff in schools on the outer edge of the city will continue to be encouraged to exchange with teachers in inner-city schools.
7. A reserve teacher cadre of experienced and specially trained supportive personnel should be assigned to inner-city schools. In addition to regular substitute duties, these substitutes should free the regular teachers for training, curriculum planning and increased parent contacts.

Faculty and Staff Development

1. Appropriate programs in human relations, minority history and culture, and other related subjects will be offered to all staff members of the Minneapolis Public Schools throughout the year.
2. Orientation and in-service training with special emphasis on human relations will be mandatory for all teachers new to the Minneapolis Public Schools.
3. City-wide released time programs for faculty and staff, implemented September 1970, will be continued. Released time gives school faculty additional opportunities to work on more effective educational programming. As part of this program, all school personnel will participate in appropriate human relations activities.

SUPPORTIVE MEASURES

Research and Evaluation

The Department of Research, in collaboration with appropriate consultants and faculty shall establish research and assessment procedures for programs related to integrated education. Periodic reports shall be made to the Superintendent of Schools. Research findings and experiences of other communities will also be used in planning educational programs.

Public Information: Annual Sight Count

Yearly sight counts will be conducted in all schools! This information will be collected by the Information Services Center, and submitted to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the State Department of Education, and the Minneapolis community.

The Student

All efforts by the Minneapolis Public Schools to implement these Guidelines have the ultimate goal of improving the educational program for students, but additional recommendations for students include:

1. Student activities designed to enhance student rights, responsibilities and conduct will receive continued attention.
2. Efforts will be made to involve students in planning their education and in determining school policy.
3. Non-school organizations requesting school participation of Minneapolis Public Schools students shall provide the administration with a written statement of assurance that participating students will not be discriminated against because of race, color, creed, or national origin.
4. Recruitment of students and interviews with students for purposes of college, vocational trades, apprenticeship programs, employment and scholarship programs will be on a non-discriminatory basis. All activities will be open to eligible students irrespective of race, ethnic origin, or religion. Particular consideration shall be given to recruitment and interviewing of students where such involvement is determined by the school as offering equal educational opportunities.
5. School clubs and other student-school related activities shall not bar membership to students because of race, color, creed or religion.

The State of Minnesota

The Minneapolis Board of Education appreciates recent State efforts to improve the quality of urban public education. There are a variety of additional ways in which the State could become a partner with cities as they move toward integrated education such as:

1. Providing additional State aids for students coming to schools in first grade with reading handicaps.
2. Providing transportation and tuition aids for urban and inter-district transfer program.
3. Removing the building construction bond limitation.
4. Revising the State aid formula.
5. Providing construction aid for new buildings or additions which are planned to house a multi-racial, multi-economic level student population.
6. Providing additional equipment and learning materials for inner-city schools.
7. Supporting Minneapolis' nationwide efforts to recruit minority group employees.
8. Determining that human relations experiences be a requirement for State certification and that such training be a prerequisite to obtaining an education degree from State institutions of higher education.
9. Providing financial support for early childhood education programs.

The Minneapolis Community

1. Community understanding and support is es- [illegible] Public Schools. The administration and teachers will increase their efforts to communicate plans and programs by use of the news media, speakers, information materials, the new radio station (KBEM), and other creative ways.
2. To the extent possible the implementation of major new programs will be preceded by presentation, discussion, and solicitation of concerns from students, faculty, parents and other citizens.
3. Area/regional or pyramid advisory committees will be used as components of a city-wide schools community communication network. Major responsibility for coordination with local school communities rests with each principal.
4. The School Building Planning Department shall keep the Superintendent of Schools alerted to developments in city housing patterns and will arrange periodic sessions among representatives from the Housing and Redevelopment Authority, City Planning Department, other housing and real estate groups and officials of the Minneapolis Public Schools.
5. The Minneapolis Board of Education fully supports all efforts of the city, public and private groups to insure open housing patterns and will designate a member of the Personnel Department to assist school employees in securing adequate housing.
6. The Minneapolis Public Schools welcomes communications from public and non-public schools and other educational institutions in the area to promote efforts to provide quality integrated education.

IMPLEMENTATION:

The School administration will begin a development of a Minneapolis comprehensive plan based upon these Guidelines with clearly stated educational goals, order of priorities, and delineated program components.

A legislative program will be based in part on these Guidelines for submission to the 1971 Minnesota Legislature.

Implementation of a quality educational program is in large part contingent upon the availability of adequate Federal, State and local funding. Support from the private sector becomes increasingly important and appropriate.

The Minneapolis Board of Education recognizes the limitations it faces with insufficient funds and will do all in its power to secure sufficient funds to recruit and retain competent teachers, administrators and supportive personnel upon which a quality education is dependent. The need for more equipment, sufficient supplies and materials for classroom instruction is acknowledged.

SUMMARY

The challenge of the 70's is a great opportunity for people of Minneapolis and various school-community agencies to respond and contribute to the improvement of the human condition in the city. [illegible] quality education to every student in the Minneapolis Public Schools.

—Intergroup Education
ISC - PUBLICATIONS 1972

Desegregation/Integration

1972/1975..

SUMMARY OF
PROPOSALS for CONSIDERATION

Based on the 1970 Human Relations Guidelines

Revised March 16, 1972

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

An Equal Opportunity Employer

II-521

The following sections summarize a much more detailed proposal
presented to the Minneapolis Board of Education on March 14, 1972.

INTRODUCTION*

This report represents the Minneapolis Public School administration's response to the Board's request for recommendations on how the system may move to overcome segregation and provide quality integrated education.

The Minneapolis Human Relations Guidelines (HRG), as approved by the Board of Education in 1970, speak to the importance of teaching and learning the basic skills of reading and writing and arithmetic. They also speak to the importance of a school where there is a climate of mutual trust and respect among the student body, faculty, school and community. They also acknowledge that an absence of inter-racial experiences may lead to fear, ignorance, prejudice and racism.

The administration's recommendations to the Board are designed to accomplish the goals of the Human Relations Guidelines.

The proposals will not provide opportunities for all schools in the city to have full-time opportunities for integrated education, but there can be concurrent planning for programs of inter-school full and part-time visits and for important curriculum and human relations programs.

The plans that follow include many faculty and community ideas and are designed to allow the Minneapolis community to have control over its own planning for integration.

The administration and Board have never advocated massive, compulsory, cross-city bussing for Minneapolis and such will not be found in these proposals.

We find nothing sacred in a fixed ratio of 30% minority-majority ratios, believing our schools may vary in racial and socio-economic composition status. We will not disperse our minority population to schools in small numbers. There will be no random selection of students for programs of student exchange. Primary emphasis will be placed on the human relations/integration aspects of our plans.

The only students to be involved in new programs beginning September, 1972 will be some of the newly-entering students to Jordan and Franklin Junior High Schools and Central and Washburn High Schools.

We will work through a variety of voluntary programs to improve the racial composition of our schools. We will use the 1972-73 school year to strengthen human relations inservice training opportunities for our faculty and staff. We will also permit limited access to the Southeast Alternatives by children from throughout the city.

Several antiquated elementary schools will be closed over the next three to five years. We recommend the concept of expanded community schools which will house students from larger attendance areas in centralized facilities which will be constructed and administered so as to assure quality education.

We will provide planning time for faculty and staff to help insure all children will have a receptive and secure place for learning.

Much responsibility for success in this undertaking is resident on the teachers, staff and principals of our several schools.

We will not be in the position of garnering the moral and political and financial support required of the HRG without a commitment to change.

The federal government has not given leadership nor adequate attention to the dilemma of the cities. The state has called for integration and quality in education, but has not provided the financial support needed to accomplish these goals

Every school district--city, suburb, and rural--has a stake in the efforts of any district to improve its educational program. We look forward to state and federal support within the next year to support our efforts.

We will blend human relations and curriculum development so that subjects such as anthropology, history and literature can help increase our awareness and understanding of those who are poor, deprived and discriminated against. We will increase our efforts to purchase books and teaching materials which accurately reflect the contributions of minorities.

We will call upon students, parents, and citizens to assist us in developing and refining and modifying, perhaps expanding, proposals of this report for improving our schools.

We stand at a critical point. We either move ahead or we abdicate our responsibility which will permit the seeds of inhumanity, disassociation, disharmony and unloveliness to spread within and beyond our city.

Housing and job equality are important along with education, and we hope that other forces in our community will search for ways to establish employment and residential equality.

We will give greater attention to recruiting of minority faculty and staff for the important professional and building support services needed.

Our efforts in improving human relations may, at times, be confused with permissiveness and independence in the absence of restraint. While we will commit time to curriculum and human relations, we will stand firm on the issue that schools be places where learning can take place.

Let me repeat--our goal of quality integrated education, shall be represented by schools where there is a climate of mutual trust and respect among students, faculty and school community--and where inter-racial experiences help eradicate the fear, the ignorance, the prejudice and the racism which so threaten us today.

* Summary of introductory comments to the Board of Education by Superintendent John B. Davis, Jr.

I. GENERAL PROGRAM SUPPORT

The 1970 Human Relations Guidelines also state that an educational goal is a quality education for all students. The desegregation-integration recommendations proposed are currently supported in various ways throughout the entire school district. This section illustrates and points out the many ways in which the several recommendations pertaining to elementary and secondary schools are also reinforced by and interrelated with existing citywide supportive services.

A. EXPANDED URBAN TRANSFER PROGRAM

The Urban Transfer Program is a voluntary program to permit the transfer of students to improve the racial composition in each school. Since its inception in 1967, 1,114 students have transferred under the Urban Transfer Program including 263 in 1970-71 and 401 in 1971-72. Thirty-five schools have received students. Only 1.3% of these students have terminated their participation in five years. The Department of Intergroup Education reviews all applications and provides supportive assistance to students and their families. Orientation meetings are held by school personnel and participants. Urban Transfer aides serve in six schools. It is the recommendation that the Urban Transfer Program be expanded:

1. The present program is successful and Minneapolis will be building upon success.

2. The program provides options for some parents to select the school and, to a degree, the style of learning to be experienced by their children.

3. The program builds upon existing schools, programs, and personnel, and, to a degree, existing transportation.

To expand the Urban Transfer Program several additional steps will need to be considered:

1. Provisions for hot lunches should be available in all elementary schools as soon as possible to allow children under the transfer program to remain for the entire instructional day. Ideally, 14 of the 28 schools should have lunch facilities provided by the fall of 1972, and the remaining 14 by the fall of 1973. The estimated cost for supervisory aide service for each school program is $3,000 per year. Minor building modifications in each of the schools for wiring, plumbing, etc., is estimated to be a total of $50,000 to $60,000 fdr the 28 buildings.

2. It is hoped that an additional support person can be assigned to the office of Intergroup Education for each additional 500 students involved in the Urban Transfer Program. The elementary and secondary education divisions will examine their aide budgets in an effort to provide funds for additional support for urban transfer students and their families at the receiving schools.

3. Present Board policy provides a bus for each 20 or more students from an area involved in the Urban Transfer Program. Consideration should be given to changing this requirement for a bus, to 10 or more students. Any student under the Urban Transfer Program who requests transportation reimbursement may receive it if he uses existing transportation facilities. Eighty percent of this cost is state reimbursed.

Southeast Alternatives Program Citywide Open Enrollment

A new variation of the Urban Transfer Program will be the voluntary citywide provision that interested majority and minority students can apply under an open enrollment policy to participate in one of the five Southeast Alternatives schools: Marshall-University High School (grades 7-12), the Free School (K-12), Tuttle Contemporary School (K-6), Marcy Open School (ages 5-11), and Motley-Pratt Continuous Progress Schools (ages 5-11). Southeast Alternatives asks the parent to select the school and the style of learning to be experienced by his child. Supported as a five-year United States Office of Education Experimental Schools project, admission criteria will be established so as to maintain the Southeast schools' commitment to a racially and economically diverse student population. The receiving school shall automatically upon transfer become the new attendance district of the transferee and he shall continue through the secondary school. Transportation costs shall be furnished when needed under Board of Education policy.

B. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND SPECIALIZED PROGRAMS

A comprehensive K-12 social studies program for all Minneapolis students focusing on awareness to the American experience including all ethnic groups continues to be developed and implemented throughout the district coordinated by the Elementary Curriculum Department and the Department of Secondary Social Studies. This work is being assisted by the Department of Intergroup Education and the Task Force on Ethnic Studies.

Since 1972 is the textbook adoption year for social studies, additional local resources are being directed in furthering the goal toward a comprehensive K-12 social studies curriculum as specified in the 1970 Human Relations Guidelines.

Ethnic studies courses are being offered in a majority of high schools and in several junior high schools. A proposal has been submitted to the State Department of Education for funding under Title III to expand the Task Force on Ethnic Studies.

The primary responsibility of the Task Force on Ethnic Studies is the initiation, creation, and development of curricula materials dealing with multi-ethnic cultures. These materials developed in micro-units are usually in the field of social studies, history, political science and black studies, but some units have been developed for literature music and art courses as well. A wider school system use of these materials is recommended.

In an effort to expand the curriculum of multi-ethnic materials in 1971-72, the Department of Intergroup Education opened communications with six ethnic groups: The Japanese-American Citizens League, from which several bibliography sources were collected; the Anti Defamation League; the Minneapolis Jewish Council; the American Association for Jewish Education; the Minneapolis Polish Alliance; the American Swedish Institute; the Sons of Norway; and the Mexican-American Committee. Seventeen units reflecting an experience of Black Americans and Indian Americans have been developed and field-tested for citywide distribution.

Helping non-Indian students and educators understand and appreciate Minnesota Indian culture was one objective of the Minneapolis Title III Audiovisual Based Indian Resource Unit completed in 1971. Program staff produced, tested, evaluated and made plans for the distribution of a series of film-sound programs that illustrated the problems, culture and progress of Minnesota Indian people. Eight instructional units have been distributed to 100 Minneapolis schools.

A Learning Materials Committee is operative in the various academic disciplines. Minority group faculty and staff are represented on all such committees. When materials are thoroughly screened and approved they are recommended to the Superintendent for Board of Education approval.

Procedures for selecting learning materials are critically reviewed regularly and suppliers of learning materials are apprised of the school district's policy regarding the necessity of honest and fair treatment of all groups.

It has been and will continue to be the practice of the Minneapolis Public Schools to promote citywide school and community observances and programs to celebrate American Indian Week, Black History Week, Dr. Martin Luther King Day, as well as other national and state recognized observances of the contribution of other ethnic American groups. The Task Force on Ethnic Studies develops, publishes, and distributes to all schools educational materials for these special occasions.

C. PERSONNEL PRACTICES

The personnel practices of the Minneapolis Public Schools are designed to encourage the recruitment and employment of individuals who are sensitive, competent and committed to the educational needs of all students. Efforts will continue so that the faculty and staffs in all schools will better reflect the diversity of the student body that comprises the total school district's student population. The personnel practices are also designed to fully support the desegregation and integration program of the Minneapolis Public Schools.

In 1971-72 there are a total of 534 minority personnel on roll, including both classified and certificated. This is an increase of 53 over the previous year. The number of schools having minority certificated employees increased from 65 to 69 out of 100 between 1970-71 and 1971-72.

The Personnel Department's priorities for 1972-73 and beyond include:

1. Since 1964 there has been a greatly expanded recruitment program from one of visiting placement offices in the immediate five-state area to a nationwide program. In the last four years this effort has been directed more and more toward recruiting on campuses having a high percentage of minority students enrolled. The major effort in the last two years has been in this direction.
2. Civil Service positions are filled on the basis of the results of competitive examinations. Recent efforts have been made to modify these regulations and provide additional opportunities for minority candidates. Currently plans are being made through school counselor contact and job fairs to encourage students to seek school employment. The Personnel Department will continue to work with the Civil Service Commission and other agencies to recruit minority personnel.

3. Every effort will be made to assure that the staff of individual schools becomes better integrated. These efforts are limited because of three factors:

    a. the limited number of anticipated vacancies;

    b. the present transfer policy gives preference to teachers presently employed over newly hired teachers in the filling of vacancies;

    c. the limited supply of minority teacher and administrative candidates.

4. Each year teachers are encouraged to request transfers and one year exchanges with other teachers. The response for exchanges has been quite limited in the past but there appears to be an increased interest in this type of movement during the current year. The Personnel Department will vigorously promote this voluntary faculty program.

5. Two years ago a reserve teacher cadre training program trained reserve teachers for inner city schools under a federally funded program. In addition, under the Emergency Employment Act, ten teachers have been employed as reserve teachers to improve the service to schools not previously having a specific reserve teacher assigned to that school. These reserve teachers will be employed as long as funds are available.

B. FACULTY AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Faculty and staff development appear in the costs section of all plans. Areas of activity under this plan include:

1. Program Development--when staffs change from one program to another such as from self-contained to continuous progress, or from one text to another, major adjustments in teaching techniques, organization, and materials must be made. The development of programs requires time, concentrated effort, and financial resources.

2. Human Relations--the ability to communicate effectively with sensitivity is required increasingly in today's educational processes. These skills must be developed by staffs if they are to maximize their educational effectiveness.

3. Ethnic Studies--as Minneapolis desegregates its schools, teachers will come in contact with students and parents from diverse ethnic backgrounds. To effectively work with groups, the teacher must be sensitive to the values, attitudes and outlooks possessed by those various individuals.

During 1971-72, progress has been made regarding:

1. Faculty representatives from 100 schools continue their citywide efforts on the Human Relations Chairmen Committee assisted by the Department of Intergroup Education. An all-day communications laboratory was held in November and another in January. Two faculty members were appointed on special assignment in January to assist the administration in securing faculty reactions and suggestions to the three desegregation plans. These faculty members will continue until June in securing faculty and staff responses to the Superintendent's March 14 recommendations.

2. Orientation and inservice training programs for new teachers have been conducted in 1970-71 and 1971-72 using Title I funds as well as local funds in the pyramid schools. These efforts will continue for new teachers.

3. Proposals for funding from private foundations have been submitted for the establishment of the Minneapolis Human Relations Training Center. Three distinct components have been identified in order to provide assistance to all local building faculties and staffs. The first component will provide all faculties with human relations training activities designed to increase the potential for successful integration. A second component will provide classroom teachers with assistance in the development of instructional materials in the various disciplines while the third component will increase the capacity of the Task Force on Ethnic Studies to provide supportive curriculum development services. Action on these proposals is expected by this summer.

4. Tuesday released time for faculty and staff has been used for curriculum development, group planning time for teaching teams and teachers at different grade levels, consultants' meetings, and a variety of staff development activities including aspects on human relations. It is anticipated that the program will continue in 1972-73. A significant number of released time programs

with a particular emphasis on matters pertaining to desegregation and integration will be held in each Minneapolis school.

E. THE STUDENT

Efforts by the All-City Student Council to present a Student Rights and Responsibilities Document culminated in the adoption of a statement by the Board of Education on June 8, 1971.

The 1971-72 school year has seen the implementation of the Student Rights and Responsibilities statement in all senior high schools. Several boards of review have been used to hear student complaints. A voters registration drive in all senior high schools has allowed eligible students to register within their local schools. Senior high school principals reaffirmed their position not to participate in Girls' State unless discriminatory policies were eliminated. The Minneapolis Schools will continue the commitment to enhance the educational opportunities of students by further implementation of the 1970 Human Relations Guidelines and the 1971 Students' Rights and Responsibilities Guidelines as adopted by the Board of Education.

F. THE COMMUNITY

There is a constant effort to communicate accurately and quickly with the Minneapolis School community and there have been significant efforts in the past several years.

Over 10,000 copies of the 1970 Human Relations Guidelines have been distributed. Approximately 100 meetings in schools were held during the winter 1971-72 to discuss the three desegregation plans and the Board of Education held a public hearing February 8, 1972. Public information sessions are planned April 4 and 5.

G. THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

The 1970 Human Relations Guidelines contained nine recommendations for consideration by the 1971 Minnesota Legislature. A review of the 1971 Minnesota legislative session and its relation to the Minneapolis Public Schools proposals includes:

1. Regular transportation aids were provided Minneapolis taxpayers for the first time in history which will support students involved in the urban transportation program. No transportation nor tuition aids were provided for interdistrict transportation programs.

2. The state aid formula was revised. The basic aid was increased and additional payments assigned for students from AFDC families. For the 1972-73 school year the Minneapolis Schools will receive approximately 32% of its budget from state funding sources, but a local levy limitation has been imposed.

3. Funds were made available under Chapter 934 to support human relations training for the total building staffs from fourteen Minneapolis Public Schools during the coming school years.

4. A Council on Quality Education was established to encourage educational innovations, and on March 1 Minneapolis submitted at least thirty proposals for consideration. Notification should come within the next few months.

The 1973 legislative program will be developed with participation from faculty, staff, parents and community groups. The legislative program will again contain portions designed to support quality integrated education. Another effort will be made to extend the building construction bonding authority of the district to meet the still existing rehabilitation and new building needs.

H. RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

Coordinated by the Research and Evaluation Department, several studies have been completed or are in process related to evaluating various aspects of the Human Relations Guidelines. Efforts are divided into three sections: first, studies related to a review of literature, most of it on desegregation; second, a listing of completed studies; and, third, a brief synopsis of studies in progress.

As the Minneapolis Schools proceed with desegregation and integration, there is the concurrent commitment for further careful research and evaluation studies.

I. BASIC SKILLS IMPROVEMENT

The Minneapolis Public Schools place high priority on reading and the basic skills of writing, speaking and mathematics. This fundamental priority is exhibited in the commitment of local and federal funds yearly. It is anticipated that with the approval of the desegregation and integration recommendations as proposed, Title One funds will continue to be available to serve those students who are low income and educationally disadvantaged as defined by the federal government. Minneapolis will still be able to concentrate its funding on particular schools and student populations.

A wide variety of educational programs have been initiated by building faculties and staffs in recent years in the determined citywide effort to enhance students mastering the reading, communication and computational skills. Many of these programs in the basic skills area are made possible through funds provided by federal legislation. Among the many federal programs concentrating on the basic skills and related areas are:

1. The Bryant-Mann and Lincoln-Hay Concentrated Education Centers which include Bryant Youth Educational Support and Lincoln Learning Centers
2. Clinton Pilot Cassette Center
3. Individually Prescribed Instruction in Math
4. Job Corps Reading
5. Auxiliary Personnel Program (Aides)
6. Mathematics Basic Skills Development Project
7. Mobile Learning Centers (Dorsett Trailers)
8. Project Seed - Mathematics Specialist Program
9. Pyramids Reading Program
10. Preschool for Urban Children
11. Regional Prescriptive Instruction Center (PIC)
12. Urban Centers for Quality Integrated Education
13. Student Support Program (Title Eight)
14. Adult Basic Education Program
15. Special Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)
16. Jobs 70 Program
17. Preschool Program for Hearing Impaired Children
18. MDTA Program (Manpower Development Training Act)
19. Irving Adjustment Center
20. Mann Parent Center

II. ELEMENTARY DESEGREGATION-INTEGRATION PROGRAM

A. INTRODUCTION

The proposals for elementary schools have two major goals:

1. The provision for elimination of the maximum number of racially isolated schools.
2. The replacement of the maximum number of old, obsolete pre-1900 elementary buildings.

Guidelines upon which the components are based are:

1. Keeping travel distance for students to a maximum of 30 minutes one way - with an average trip of between 15-20 minutes.
2. Not dispersing minority students in small numbers.
3. Having children from a residential area attending school with their peers.
4. Involving students from adjoining areas wherever possible.
5. Strengthening the existing commitment of the Minneapolis Schools to the community school concept with "lighted schools" that serve the entire community.
6. Accomplishing socio-economic integration where possible.

There are three basic methods proposed to accomplish the major goals:

1. Expanded Community Schools to serve a wider attendance area. They will be subdivided into units that will house between 500 and 600 students.
2. Clusters of Schools and a "Pairing" to facilitate the development of primary (K-3) and intermediate (4-6) units.
3. Pilot Program of Learning Centers where students may be involved for short periods of time in integrated and enriched learning experiences.

The elementary components have been developed in such a manner as to be generally consistent with the long-range plans for school construction developed by the Michigan State Study of 1963 and adopted by the City. Proposals from the Domian-Sargent Report of 1969 and the Citizens' School Facilities Report of 1971 have been incorporated. The components provide flexibility of use so that changing conditions and circumstances may be met. For example, schools proposed to be used as primary (K-3) and intermediate (4-6) centers may as easily serve a K-6 student population. The placement of schools has been proposed with the knowledge that the elementary school age student population is declining in Minneapolis, as it is nationally; and that a maximum amount of flexibility is required to meet changing needs.

The elementary school components which follow are predicated on the belief that the significant factor in improving the quality of educational opportunities for all children rests with a dedicated staff, supported by an involved and informed community. Time and opportunity for staff development are proposed. Consideration is given to the desire of parents to help mold the educational experiences of their children. Resources, human and material, within the constraints of available funds, are pledged.

B. PROPOSALS

1. EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL, NORTH PYRAMID AREA
   a. Construct a two-unit community school to replace Hawthorne and Lowell. The new attendance area will include all of Hawthorne and the portion of Lowell and Willard east of Penn Avenue.
   b. A primary program (K-3) will be housed in one unit and an intermediate program (4-6) will be housed in the other unit.
   c. The primary unit will have a continuous progress program.
   d. The intermediate unit will utilize team teaching.

Effects of Change:

1. Replaces Hawthorne and Lowell which are pre-1900 buildings.
2. Assists in desegregating Willard, while providing interracial experiences in the current Lowell, Bremer, Hawthorne, and Willard districts.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Staff Development, Begin construction

1974-75 Construction completed, Students assigned, Staff Development continued, Program implemented.

2. EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL, NORTH OF LAKE STREET

a. Construct a three-unit community school north of Lake Street.

b. A new attendance area will be established to include all of Adams, Madison, Greeley, and the portion of Irving, Clinton and Whittier north of Lake Street.

c. Involve Model City agencies.

Effects of Change:

1. Provides sufficient space so that a voluntary program could be developed to attract majority students from Cooper, Howe, and Longfellow districts.
2. Replaces Adams, Clinton, Greeley, Irving, Madison and Whittier, which are pre-1900 buildings with fire ratings of 5.
3. Provides space for SLBP students from Madison.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Staff Development, Construction begins

1974-75 Construction completed, Students assigned, Staff Development completed, Program implemented.

3. EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL, SOUTH OF LAKE STREET

a. Construct a three-unit expanded community school south of Lake Street to replace the old part of Mann and Corcoran.

b. Create a new attendance area that will include all of Corcoran and Mann, the portion of Irving, Clinton, and Whittier south of Lake Street, and the portion of Bancroft north of 37th Street.

Effects of Change:

1. Replaces Corcoran and the old part of Mann, which are pre-1900 buildings on inadequate sites, fire rated 5.
2. Reduces overcrowded conditions at Bancroft.
3. Desegregate Mann School and provide for integrated education for the student population in the defined areas.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Staff Development, Construction begins

1974-75 Construction completed, Students assigned, Staff Development continued, Programs implemented

4. BANCROFT-NORTHROP-STANDISH CLUSTER

Establish primary centers at Northrop and Standish and an intermediate center at Bancroft.

Effects of Change:

1. Desegregate Bancroft and provide integrated educational experiences for pupils at Bancroft, Northrop and Standish.
2. Improves racial composition within the three schools.
3. Utilizes three structures that are educationally sound that were built after 1910.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Staff Development

1974-75 Implementation date to be coordinated with Expanded Community School south of Lake Street.

5. EXPANDED HALE-FIELD COMMUNITY

a. Construct additions to Hale and Field that will absorb the Fuller School population.

b. Addition at Field will accommodate 150 students and expand Field lunchroom into multi-purpose facility.

c. Addition at Hale will accommodate 200 primary age children and a multi-purpose room.

Effects of Change:

1. Eliminates Fuller which is a pre-1900 building, fire rated 5.
2. Improves the racial composition of the Hale-Field Schools.
3. Makes a contribution to socio-economic composition.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Planning, Staff Development, Construction begins

1974-75 Students assigned, Implement programs, Staff Development continued

6. BRYN MAWR-DOUGLAS-HARRISON-KENWOOD CLUSTER

a. Eliminate Douglas and improve Bryn Mawr, Harrison and Kenwood plants.

① b. Develop primary center (K-3) on Kenwood and Bryn Mawr sites.

c. Establish intermediate center (4-6) at Harrison.

d. Construct additions to Kenwood and Harrison Schools.

Effects of Change:

1. Improves racial and socio-economic composition of affected schools.
2. Eliminates Douglas which is a pre-1900 building.
3. Provides opportunities for diversity in program and instructional options for children and parents.
4. Absorbs the Hay population south of Olson Highway.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Construction begins, Staff Development

1974-75 Rehabilitation of Bryn Mawr, Douglas closed, Pupils assigned

7. BREMER-CLEVELAND-WILLARD CLUSTER

a. Develop primary centers (K-3) at Cleveland and Willard.

b. Establish Bremer as an intermediate center (4-6).

c. Include the Willard and Lowell students who live west of Penn Avenue and the entire Cleveland and Bremer area.

d. Remove Willard kindergarten students presently assigned to Harrison.

Effects of Plan:

1. Improves racial composition of the affected schools.
2. Better utilization of equipment and teaching materials because of a shorter age span.
3. Better utilization of specialized personnel.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Staff Development

1974-75 Implementation coordinated with completion of North area Expanded Community School.

8. HAY (LINCOLN)-LORING PAIRING

a. Develop a primary center (K-3) at Loring -- requires addition.

b. Develop an intermediate center (4-6) using converted Lincoln.

c. Assign pupils from Hay, Loring and Penn to the two remaining schools.

Effects of Plan:

1. Improves racial composition.
2. Lincoln provides excellent facilities for shop, physical education and special interests.
3. Eliminates Penn which is a number 5 fire rated building. ②

Timetable:

1973-73 Planning

1973-74 Begin construction at Loring, Staff Development and Planning

1974-75 Phase out Penn, rehabilitate Lincoln, Assign students, Implement program, Continue Staff Development

9. BETHUNE-HALL-SHERIDAN-WEBSTER CLUSTER

a. Develop primary centers (K-3) at Bethune and Hall.

b. Construct a new Webster to house all students in grades 4-6 from Bethune, Hall, Webster, and Sheridan.

c. Close Prescott School concurrent with the opening of the new Webster; disperse students to surrounding schools. ③

Effects of Change:

1. Improves racial composition for affected schools.
2. Provides all students with high quality educational plants.
3. Removes elementary students from Sheridan.
4. Fulfills agreement with Webster community and Housing Authority to build a new Webster School.
5. Eliminates Prescott which is a number 5 fire rated building.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Begin construction of Webster, Staff Development and Planning

1974-75 Construction completed, Students assigned, Prescott closed, Staff Development and planning, Sheridan serves grades 7-9.

10. DEVELOP A PILOT LEARNING CENTER AT WEBSTER SCHOOL

Effect of Change:

Provides an opportunity for interracial contacts, educational experiences, and skill development not available in the home or school.

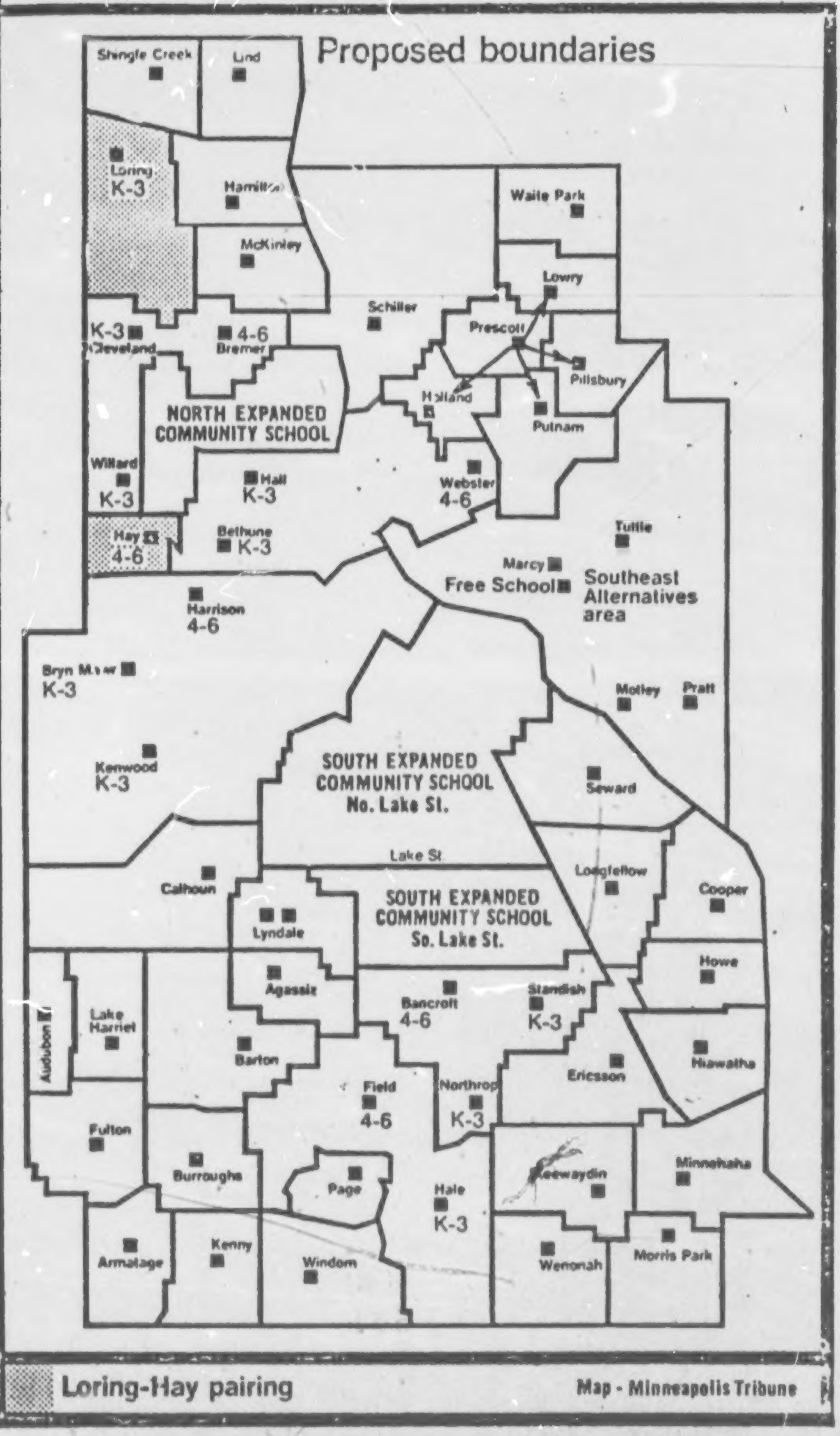
Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Planning and Staff Development

1974-79 Establish a center.

Minneapolis Elementary School Districts


Proposed boundaries
Shingle Creek
Lind
Loring
K-3
Hamilton
McKinley
Waite Park
Lowry
Schiller
Prescott
Pillsbury
Holland
Putnam
K-3
Cleveland
4-6
Bremer
NORTH EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Willard
K-3
Hall
K-3
Webster
4-6
Hay
4-6
Bethune
K-3
Tuttle
Marcy
Free School
Southeast Alternatives area
Harrison
4-6
Bryn Mawr
K-3
Motley
Pratt
Kenwood
K-3
SOUTH EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL No. Lake St.
Seward
Lake St.
Longfellow
Calhoun
Cooper
Lyndale
SOUTH EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL So. Lake St.
Howe
Agassiz
Bancroft
4-6
Standish
K-3
Audubon
Lake Harriet
Barton
Hiawatha
Ericsson
Field
4-6
Northrop
K-3
Fulton
Keewaydin
Minnehaha
Burroughs
Page
Hale
K-3
Armatage
Kenny
Windom
Wenonah
Morris Park

▨ Loring-Hay pairing

Map - Minneapolis Tribune

D. SUMMARY (ELEMENTARY)

	CONSTRUCTION	STAFF DEVELOPMENT	TRANSPORTATION			NUMBER OF PUPILS TRANSPORTED
			LOCAL	STATE REIMBURSEMENT	TOTAL	
EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL, NORTH PYRAMID AREA	$ 3,500,000	$ 40,000	$ 10,000	$ 40,000	$ 50,000	500
EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL NORTH OF LAKE STREET	5,000,000	45,000	24,000	96,000	120,000	1,200
EXPANDED COMMUNITY SCHOOL SOUTH OF LAKE STREET	3,625,000*	40,000	20,000	80,000	100,000	1,000
BANCROFT-NORTHROP-STANDISH CLUSTER	50,000	30,000	14,000	56,000	70,000	700
EXPANSION OF HALE-FIELD COMMUNITY	750,000	15,000	8,000	32,000	40,000	400
BRYN-MAWR-DOUGLAS-HARRISON-KENWOOD CLUSTER	2,250,000	45,000	24,000	96,000	120,000	1,200
BREMER-CLEVELAND-WILLARD CLUSTER	250,000	50,000	18,000	72,000	90,000	900
HAY (LINCOLN) LORING PAIRING	1,150,000	30,000	18,000	72,000	90,000	900
BETHUNE-HALL-SHERIDAN-WEBSTER CLUSTER	1,700,000	35,000	14,000	56,000	70,000	700
LEARNING CENTERS	NONE	50,000 staff 10,000 materials	20,000	NONE	20,000	variable
TOTALS	$18,275,000 *plus $875,000 commitment from 1971 bond funds.	$390,000	$170,000	$600,000	$770,000	7,500

III. SECONDARY DESEGREGATION/INTEGRATION PROGRAM

A. Introduction

The Secondary Division's proposals for desegregation-integration contain three basic approaches for achieving a better racial and socioeconomic composition in the schools.

1. Changing from 3 Year to 4 Year Senior High Schools

Moving 9th graders into the senior high schools will enrich educational opportunities for them. They will have available to them specialized courses and facilities such as advanced science, vocational education, advanced home economics and industrial arts, foreign language laboratories and computer terminals.

When 9th graders become part of a high school which serves a larger geographical area they have greater opportunities for contact with a wider range of students economically and racially.

2. 7 - 8 Schools

By concentrating staff and facilities in the junior high schools upon the 7th and 8th grades only, better utilization is made of both the facilities and the staff. Greater numbers of students at each grade level will allow improved utilization of teachers and plant. 7th and 8th grade students will have a wider range of opportunities, especially in art, industrial arts, home economics, science and foreign language than they would have available to them in a junior high school which serves three grades.

The reorganization of junior high schools into two-grade units will mean they also serve larger geographical areas which provides greater opportunity for contact with a wider range of students economically and racially.

3. Boundary Changes

The school district has historically changed boundaries to alleviate overcrowding. Boundary changes should be made which will contribute to the improvement of the racial composition of the schools. Boundary adjustment is the most economical and feasible way of moving toward the improvement of racial composition in schools.

B. Proposals

1. Boundary Changes Between Central and Washburn:

a. Include the area north of 46th Street between Lake Harriet and Nicollet in the Central attendance area.

b. Washburn's boundary is moved north between 35W and Columbus to coincide with Field's northern boundary.

Effects of Change

1. Enables the Field-Hale students to stay together from Kindergarten through 12th grade.
2. Brings 60 students (70% minority, 30% majority) into Washburn over three years which improves racial and socioeconomic composition at Washburn.
3. Brings 200 students (majority) to Central, which improves the racial and socioeconomic composition at Central.
4. Over a three-year period, the change brings a total of 140 additional students to Central and better utilizes the facility. It also relieves Washburn's overcrowding by the same number of students.

Timetable:

1972-73

1. 65 incoming 10th graders will attend Central rather than Washburn
2. 20 incoming 10th graders will attend Washburn rather than Central
3. Staff Development

1973-74

Same as 1972-73

1974-75

Same as 1972-73

2 Ramsey-Washburn Reorganization

a. Change Ramsey Junior High from a 7-9 grade organization to a unit housing 9th grade students.

b. The Ramsey unit will be considered part of the Ramsey-Washburn 9-12 campus.

c. Ramsey will house those 9th graders who would have gone to Anthony and Bryant as well as Ramsey.

Effects of Change

1. Ramsey will reflect the entire range of the racial and socioeconomic composition present in the southside community.
2. Ramsey's enrollment will be reduced and serious overcrowding will no longer exist.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning and Staff Development

1973-74 Staff Development

1973-74 Ramsey's enrollment will consist of:

1. No 7th graders.
2. 402 8th graders who attended Ramsey as 7th graders in 1972-73.
3. 421 9th graders who attended Ramsey as 8th graders in 1972-73.
4. 309 9th graders who attended Bryant as 8th graders in 1972-73.

1974-75 Ramsey's enrollment will consist of 1080 9th graders from Ramsey, Bryant, and Anthony.

3. ANTHONY 7-8 SCHOOL

   a. Anthony Junior High changes from a 7-9 school to a 7-8 school.

   b. Anthony will house students from its present area, except incoming 7th graders from Burroughs.

   c. Students from Windom, Page, Field, Hale and Northrop who would have formerly gone to Ramsey will attend Anthony.

   Effects of Change

   Anthony will reflect the range of the racial and socio-economic composition present in the southside community.

   Timetable:

   1972-73 Planning and Staff Development

   1973-74 Staff Development

   Anthony's enrollment will consist of:

   1. 492 7th graders from the new attendance area.
   2. 293 8th graders who attended Anthony as 7th graders in 1972-73.
   3. 310 9th graders who attended Anthony as 8th graders in 1972-73.

   1974-75 Staff Development

   Anthony's enrollment will consist of:

   1. 576 7th graders from the new attendance area.
   2. 519 8th graders who attended Anthony as 7th graders in 1973-74.
   3. No 9th graders.

4. BRYANT 7-8 SCHOOL

   a. Bryant Junior High changes from a 7-9 school to a 7-8 school.

   b. Bryant will house students from its present area except those incoming 7th graders from Northrop and Field.

   c. Students from Barton and Fuller who formerly would have gone to Ramsey will attend Bryant.

   d. Students from Burroughs who formerly would have gone to Anthony or Ramsey will attend Bryant.

   Effects of Change

   Bryant will reflect the range of racial and socio-economic composition present in the southside community.

   Timetable:

   1973-73 Planning

   1973-74 Staff Development

   Bryant's enrollment will consist of:

   1. 536 7th graders from the new attendance area.
   2. 322 8th graders who attended Bryant as 7th graders in 1972-73.
   3. No 9th graders.

   1974-75 Staff Development

Bryant's enrollment will consist of:

1. 530 7th graders from the new attendance area.
2. 538 8th graders who attended Bryant as 7th graders in 1973-74.
3. No 9th graders.

5. PHILLIPS BOUNDARY CHANGE (JEFFERSON, SANFORD)

a. The Phillips boundary will move westward to include the Whittier district and the part of the Lyndale attendance area which formerly attended Jefferson.

Effects of Change

1. 325 students who formerly attended Jefferson will now attend Phillips.
2. Jefferson's enrollment is reduced so that Harrison and Hay students may be brought in.
3. A remodeled Phillips facility will be used to capacity.
4. The racial composition at Phillips will be improved.
5. Enrollment at Phillips will be 1040.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 Staff Development

120 incoming 7th graders from Whittier and Lyndale enter Phillips

15 incoming 7th graders from Seward enter Phillips

1974-75 Same as 1973-74

1975-76 Same as 1973-74

6. SANFORD BOUNDARY CHANGE (PHILLIPS)

a. The Sanford boundary is changed so that Phillips will include all of the Seward attendance area.

b. Students living in the southeastern corner of the Seward district will no longer attend Sanford.

Effects of Change

1. Provides relief of the overcrowding at Sanford.
2. 45 students are moved from Sanford to Phillips.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 15 incoming 7th graders from Seward will attend Phillips rather than Sanford.

1974-75 Same as 1973-74.

1975-76 Same as 1973-74.

7. JEFFERSON BOUNDARY CHANGE (LINCOLN, PHILLIPS)

a. The Jefferson boundary will be moved north to Olson Highway.

b. Jefferson will serve as a home school for all Harrison students and those Hay students living south of Olson Highway.

Effects of Change

1. 280 students from Harrison and Hay will now attend Jefferson.
2. The enrollment at Jefferson will be 1100.
3. The racial composition will be improved.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning and Staff Development

1973-74 Staff Development

100 incoming 7th graders from Hay and Harrison will attend Jefferson.

120 incoming 7th graders from Whittier and Lyndale will enter Phillips, rather than Jefferson.

1974-75 Same as 1973-74.

1975-76 Same as 1973-74.

1976 West High School's northern boundary will be adjusted to coincide with the northern boundary of Jefferson Junior High School (Olson Highway).

8. NORTH SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL (9-12)

The new North High School becomes a 9-12 senior high school serving the junior high districts of Jordan and Franklin.

Effects of Change

1. Jordan's overcrowding is eliminated.
2. Franklin may now serve as a magnet school.
3. Franklin and Jordan become 7-8 schools.

Timetable

1972-73 Planning

1973-74 9th grade students from Franklin will attend North High.

1974-75 9th grade students from Jordan will attend the new North High.

1976 North High School's southern boundary will be adjusted to coincide with the northern boundary of West High School (Olson Highway).

9. JORDAN 7-8 SCHOOL

a. Jordan's boundary will be moved south to include all of the students in the Willard and Hay attendance areas, excluding those Hay students south of Olson Highway.

b. Jordan's 9th graders will attend the new North High School.

c. Jordan will become a 7-8 school.

Effects of Change

1. Jordan's enrollment is lowered to 958 students and serious overcrowding no longer exists.
2. Jordan's racial composition is improved.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning and Staff Development

120 incoming 7th graders from Bremer and McKinley will attend Franklin, rather than Jordan.

1973-74 Staff Development

Jordan receives 200 incoming 7th graders from Willard and Hay.

1974-75 Staff Development

Jordan sends its 9th graders to new North High School.

10. FRANKLIN 7-8 SCHOOL

a. Franklin boundary moves north to include that area of Bremer east of Dupont and all of the McKinley district with the exception of two blocks at the northern edge of the McKinley district which will be optional to Olson.

b. The western area of Bethune is placed in the Franklin attendance area.

c. Franklin's 9th graders attend North High School.

Effects of Change

1. Franklin becomes a 7-8 school.
2. Franklin gets maximum use.
3. Franklin's racial composition is improved.
4. It becomes possible to establish a magnet program at Franklin designed to serve North and Northeast.

Timetable:

1972-73 Planning

Boundary changes with Jordan and Lincoln will be completed.
Franklin becomes a 6-9 school.

1973-74 Staff Development

Franklin 9th graders will attend North. Franklin becomes a 6-8 school.

1974-75 Staff Development

Hawthorne 6th graders will be sent to new Expanded Community School and Franklin becomes a 7-8 school. Magnet school at Franklin is established.

11. LINCOLN JUNIOR HIGH GRADE REORGANIZATION

Lincoln will be changed from a junior high containing grades 7-9 to a 4-6 intermediate school.

Effects of Change

1. Room becomes available for a 4-6 intermediate school.
2. Eliminates Hay which is an obsolete building.

Timetable:

1972-73 All incoming 7th graders from Bethune will attend Franklin.

1973-74 120 incoming 7th graders from Willard will attend Jordan
100 incoming 7th graders from Harrison and Hay (south of Olson Highway) will attend Jefferson.
95 Hay students living in the new Jordan attendance area will attend Jordan (north of Olson Highway)

1974-75 All Lincoln students move to North (as 9th and 10th graders).

12. OLSON-HENRY REORGANIZATION
a. Olson becomes a 7-8 school.
b. Henry becomes a 9-12 senior high.

Effects of Change
1. Olson's enrollment is reduced to make room for urban transfers.
2. The overcrowded condition at Henry is relieved.
3. Henry will be able to receive urban transfers in 1975-76.

Timetable:
1972-73 Planning
1973-74 Staff Development - Henry 7th graders attend Olson.
1974-75 Staff Development - Olson's 9th graders attend Henry.

Integration Efforts in Schools Not Affected by Boundary Changes or Grade Reorganization:

Junior High Schools:

Urban Transfer Program:

Through the Urban Transfer Program, Folwell Junior High School and Olson Junior High School have been desegregated to the point that the minority population at these two junior high schools is just over 10%.

Beginning in the spring of this year intensified efforts will be made to increase the number of students taking advantage of the Urban Transfer Program. These efforts will be made in the schools which are presently receiving urban transfer students, as well as in schools which will have space available in the future. Plans will be made this spring to increase the number of students taking advantage of urban transfers into Sheridan Junior High School for the fall. Since space will become available in the fall of 1973, because of declining enrollments, Northeast Junior High School and Nokomis Junior High School will become available as receiving schools for urban transfer students.

Space will become available in Southwest Junior High School in the fall of 1974 for urban transfer students.

Magnet and Enrichment Programs:

Planning will start in the fall of 1972 for the development of a magnet program at Franklin and an enrichment program at Bryant. These programs will provide opportunities for enrichment and acceleration for students with interests and abilities to take advantage of such programs. The Franklin program will be designed to attract junior high school students from North Minneapolis and Northeast Minneapolis.

Learning Centers: (Junior High)

Upon the completion of the new Webster Elementary School, elementary students will no longer be housed at Sheridan. This will make space available at Sheridan Junior High School. In the fall of 1972 planning will begin to create an ethnic studies center at Sheridan. Junior high school students from all over the city will be able to participate in special activities at the center designed to provide opportunities for students to have multi-racial contacts and to study the contributions of various ethnic groups. It is proposed that during any school year students could spend from two to four weeks at the ethnic studies center. Emphasis will be placed on attracting students from schools which will not be affected by desegregation-integration programs to meet with students from schools with high concentrations of minority population.

Senior High Schools:

Urban Transfer Program:

Partly due to the Urban Transfer Program, Marshall-University High School's minority enrollment is over 15%. In the fall of 1973 Edison High School's enrollment will decline to the point that Edison will be eligible to receive urban transfers. During the 1972-73 school year special efforts will be made to attract urban transfers to Edison, as well as to make the school more attractive to minority pupils.

Magnet Programs:

The Magnet Program at Central High School will be open to interested and able students city-wide. As soon as room is available at the new North High School, a magnet program similar to the program at Central High School will be initiated at North.

Vocational Learning Laboratory

A major component of a full, rewarding and productive adult life is gainful employment. A rapidly changing labor market, spurred by an accellerating technology, demand, pre-employment training. (Approximately 60% of Minneapolis Public School's High School graduates do not enter collegiate institutions.)

- Planning is currently underway for greatly expanded vocational offerings both at the Vocational School and the ten comprehensive high schools. While still in the early stages of development these programs will further facilitate/implement the human relations guidelines adopted November, 1970.

Serious consideration is being given to a proposal for converting the present area vocational-technical school into a vocational learning laboratory open to secondary school students throughout the city. In order to accomplish this, a new post high school area vocational-technical school will have to be built to provide for the post high school students now being educated in our present building. After the conversion of the present building to a vocational laboratory, 11th and 12th grade senior high students would have the option of leaving their home high schools to attend the vocational laboratory on a full day basis for one or more quarters.

The introduction of the quarter plan to the senior high schools will make the vocational laboratory easily accessible to all senior high school students. Serving as such a laboratory the vocational building will provide opportunities for many more senior high school students to learn in an integrated setting.

A Citizens Advisory Committee on Vocational Education is presently working on the plans for a post high school facility. The administration hopes to receive a report from this committee giving the time table for the referendum and building schedule sometime within the next several months.

Other Learning Laboratory Opportunities for Senior High School Students:

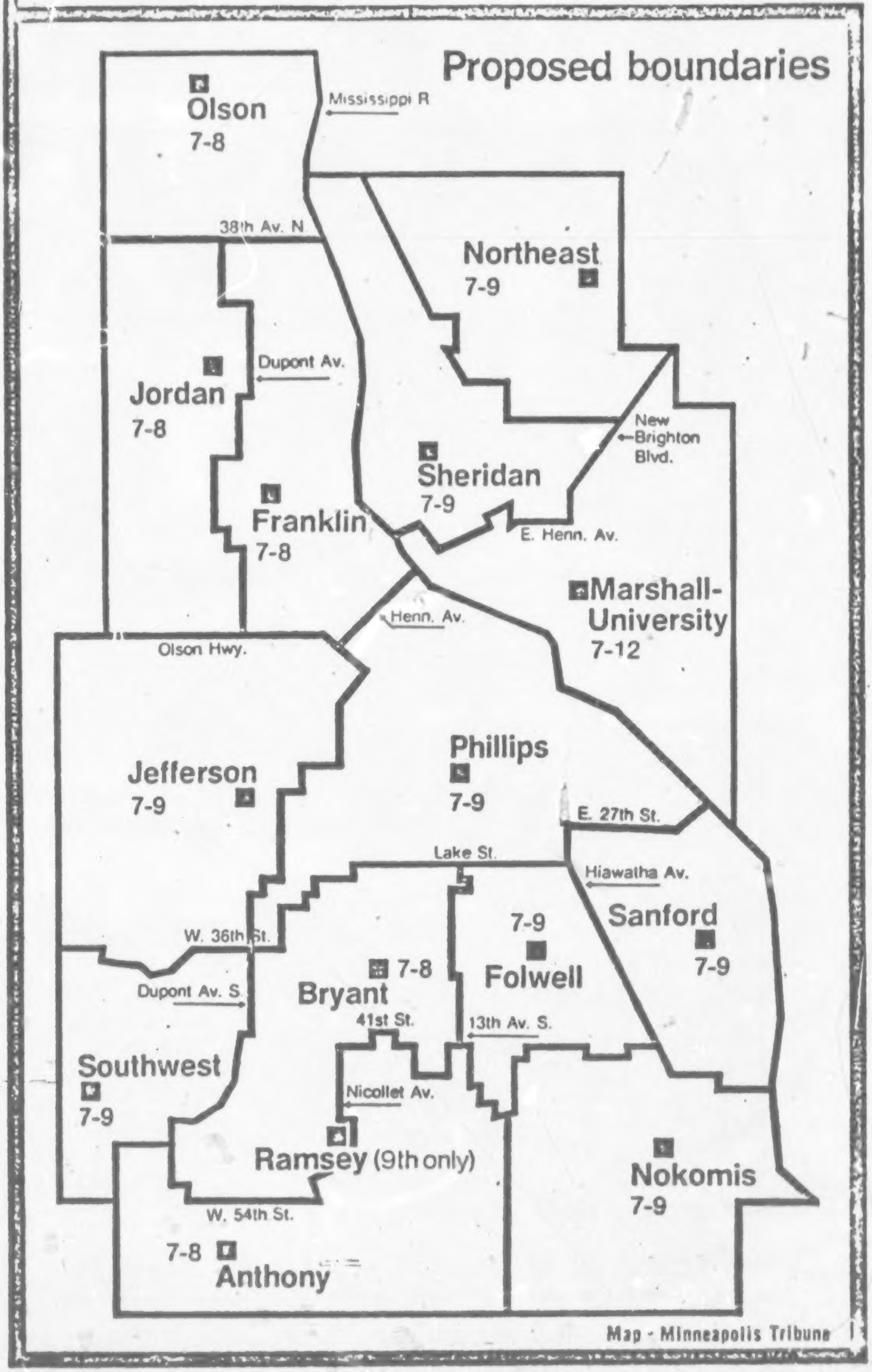
Urban Arts
Work Opportunity Center
Bryant Youth Educational Support Center (Y.E.S.)
Lincoln Learning Center

Other kinds of opportunities for learning laboratories will be expanded and new ones developed throughout the city. These learning laboratories will make short-term integrated experiences available to more students.

Inter-School Visits for Students

Opportunities for integrated learning will also be provided through the development and promotion of inter-school student visits. These visits will be between schools that have students with varying racial and ethnic backgrounds. Some student visits may also be developed with schools outside the city.

Minneapolis Junior High School Districts

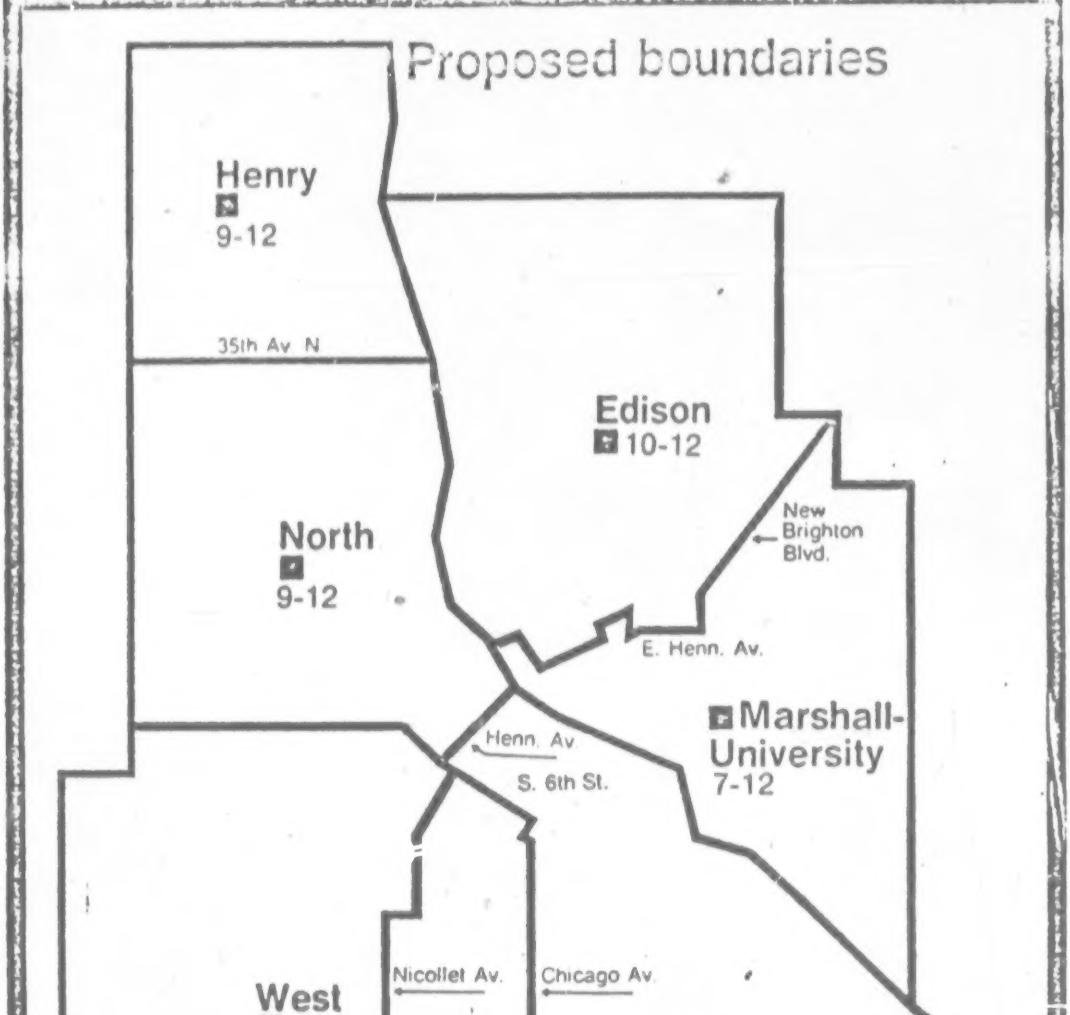


Proposed boundaries

Olson
7-8
Mississippi R
38th Av. N
Northeast
7-9
Jordan
7-8
Dupont Av.
Sheridan
7-9
New
Brighton
Blvd.
Franklin
7-8
E. Henn. Av.
Marshall-
University
7-12
Henn. Av.
Olson Hwy.
Jefferson
7-9
Phillips
7-9
E. 27th St.
Lake St.
Hiawatha Av.
Sanford
7-9
W. 36th St.
7-9
Folwell
7-8
Bryant
Dupont Av. S.
41st St.
13th Av. S.
Southwest
7-9
Nicollet Av.
Ramsey (9th only)
Nokomis
7-9
W. 54th St.
7-8
Anthony

Map - Minneapolis Tribune

Minneapolis Senior High School Districts


Proposed boundaries
Henry
9-12
35th Av. N
Edison
10-12
New Brighton Blvd.
North
9-12
E. Henn. Av.
Marshall-University
7-12
Henn. Av.
S. 6th St.
West
10-12
Nicollet Av.
Chicago Av.
South
10-12
Lyndale Av.
10-12
Central
Bloomington Av.
E. 36th St
Nicollet Av.
41st St.
Columbus Av.
Roosevelt
10-12
Southwest
10-12
W. 46th St.
44th St
Washburn
10-12
Logan Av. S.
Cedar Av.

Map - Minneapolis Tribune

D. SUMMARY (SECONDARY)

	1972-1973					1973-1974					1974-1975					1975-1976				
			Transportation					Transportation					Transportation					Transportation		
PROGRAM	Rehab	Staff Develop	Total	State	Local	Rehab	Staff Develop	Total	State	Local	Rehab	Staff Develop	Total	State	Local	Rehab	Staff Develop	Total	State	Local
Olson 7-8 center	75,000						3,000	12,100	8,800	3,300		2,000	24,200	17,600	6,600		2,000	25,300	18,400	6,900
Jordan 7-8 center		10,000					5,000	23,650	17,200	6,450		5,000	45,100	32,800	12,300		2,000	45,100	32,800	12,300
Franklin 7-8 center	10,000		17,050	12,400	4,650		10,000	33,000	24,000	9,000		2,000	33,550	24,400	9,150		2,000	33,550	24,400	9,150
Jefferson boundary change		10,000					3,000	12,100	8,800	3,300		3,000	23,650	17,200	6,450		2,000	37,950	27,600	10,350
Phillips boundary change							3,000	12,100	8,800	3,300		2,000	23,650	17,200	6,450		2,000	37,950	27,600	10,350
Ramsey 9 center		10,000					3,000	34,100	24,800	9,300		5,000	56,650	41,200	15,450		3,000	56,650	41,200	15,450
Bryant 7-8 center	75,000						10,000	26,400	19,200	7,200		2,000	51,700	37,600	14,100		2,000	51,700	37,600	14,100
Anthony 7-8 center	250,000	10,000					3,000	27,500	20,000	7,500		5,000	55,550	40,400	15,150		3,000	55,550	40,400	15,150
Washburn boundary change		10,000					5,000					5,000					3,000			
Henry 9-12							3,000					3,000					2,000			
Contingency rehab. fund	40,000																			
TOTALS	450,000	50,000	17,050	12,400	4,650		47,000	180,950	131,600	49,350		34,000	314,050	228,400	85,650		23,000	343,750	250,000	93,750

IV. CONCLUSION

The proposals included in these recommendations were developed with great care. The children of the district have been kept in central focus as these proposals were developed. These proposals if implemented will: replace 13 old and antiquated buildings, provide for three new expanded community schools and one new elementary school plus rehabilitation and updating of 17 buildings. Elementary students in several areas of the city will have the opportunity to participate in new grade placement programs where human and material resources can be concentrated to support learning. Secondary students will have new grade arrangements concentrating larger numbers of students to give added educational options. New boundary lines will contribute to better racial composition in the secondary schools. Students will be provided new learning support as a great faculty and staff increase their capacity to support maximum learning for all students. The Human Relations Guidelines speak to the importance of the basic skills and the educational and social opportunities necessary to insure our students success in a complex and multi-ethnic world.

This report, if approved and supported, will permit the Minneapolis school system to move in the proper direction and at the appropriate time.

1972-1975 COST SUMMARY ESTIMATES

Elementary and Secondary Education
September 1972 - August 1975

	Construction	Staff Development	Transportation[3] Local Share	State Reimbursement
Elementary Education	$18,275,000	$390,000	$170,000	$600,000
Secondary Education	450,000	131,000	139,650	372,400
Total	$18,725,000[1]	$521,000[2]	$309,650	$972,400

1. Approximately 19 million dollars remains of the authority to issue bonds, approved by 1969 legislative action.

2. This amount from operating budgets for three years represents approximately $50 per staff member per year. Funding for additional programs is being sought from federal, state, and private sources.

3. The state reimbursement based on legislative action in 1971 is 80% of cost, not to exceed $80 per pupil. Thus, of the $1,282,050 total transportation costs, it is estimated that approximately $972,400 would be state reimbursed.

certificated personnel so that no school is identifiable by the composition of its faculty as being tailored for a heavy concentration of either Black or White students. U.S. v. Montgomery County Board of Education, 395 U.S. 225 (1969); Brewer v. City of Norfolk, 397 F.2d 37 (4th Cir. 1968).

14. The responsibility for faculty and staff desegregation is that of the defendant, not the teachers. The achievement of desegregated faculties may not be made contingent upon the willingness of teachers to voluntarily transfer from their present schools. If necessary, a district must use its power to assign or reassign teachers in order to comply with the constitutional requirement. United States v. Board of Education of City of Bessemer, 396 F.2d 44 (5th Cir. 1968); Monroe v. Commissioners of City of Jackson, 380 F.2d 955 (6th Cir. 1967); Kelly v. Altheimer, 378 F.2d 483 (8th Cir. 1967).

15. A school district may not, consistent with the Fourteenth Amendment, maintain segregated schools because of, or permit educational choices to be influenced by, a policy of racial segregation in order to accommodate community sentiment or to appease the wishes of even a majority of the voters. Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1, 15-16 (1958); Reitman v. Mulkey, 387 U.S. 369 (1967); Monroe v. Board of Commissioners, supra; United States v. School District 151, supra; Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, supra.

16. As a matter of law, the intended and inevitable effect of a series of policy decisions made by the defendant Special School District #1, Minneapolis, Minnesota, with respect to size and location of schools, attendance zones, enrollment of various schools, transfer policies, and teacher assignments as described in the Findings of Fact set out above has been to aggravate and increase the racial segregation in its schools. These policies have been especially offensive due to the defendant's knowledge of the extensive nature of housing segregation within its bounds. Brown v. Board of Education, supra; Taylor v. Board of Education of City School District of City of New Rochelle, supra; Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education, supra; Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac, supra; United States v. School District 151 of Cook County, Illinois, supra.

ORDER FOR JUDGMENT

This Court having fully considered the testimony and documents offered at trial, and the depositions and exhibits attached thereto, has concluded that it has been shown that there exists a condition of segregated schools in the City of

Minneapolis, and that the intentional actions of the defendant herein are in part responsible for this condition.

IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED that the defendant, its school board, its administrators, its employees, its agents, and all those who are in active concert or participation with them, are hereby permanently enjoined from discriminating on the basis of race or national origin in the operation of Special School District #1 or any successor district or districts which may be formed therefrom. Such injunction is directed particularly at, but not limited to, the discrimination in assignment of students and teachers within the District. As is set out more completely below, the defendant shall take affirmative action to disestablish school segregation and eliminate the effects of its prior unlawful activities. That which shall constitute minimal compliance with this Order is as follows:

1. The defendant will proceed to implement its Plan for Desegregation/Integration as adopted with four amendments by the School Board on April 25, 1972. The Court is greatly impressed by the obvious amount of consideration and preparation which went into this Plan. Its attention to staff development and human relations training is laudable and should, if anything, be stressed more strenuously. This Court is of the opinion that the Plan presented by the defendant meets constitutional requirements, except for those areas indicated below.

In accepting the District's plan, the Court is in effect rejecting most of the changes suggested by the plaintiffs' expert. This is no reflection upon him. He appeared to be objective, fair, and reasonable. However, this Court agrees with Judge Eisele that if the District's plan meets constitutional requirements a court need look no further. "It is for the school board not the courts to establish educational policy." Yarbrough v. Hulbert-West Memphis District No. 4, 329 F. Supp. 1059, 1064 (E.D. Ark. 1971). This is especially true when the defendant appears to be exercising good faith. The preparation of a plan of this quality in the face of this lawsuit indicates that this defendant is not a recalcitrant district whose promises are suspect.

2. The defendant's plan shall be modified in the following manner:

(a) Under the District's Plan, Bethune, new Webster, and Willard elementary schools, and the elementary schools in the Hay, Penn, Loring pairing would have minority enrollments of close to or over 40%. In light of the minority population of the District and the racial composition of other schools therein, the Court feels these percentages are too high. Therefore, the Plan should be modified so that no more than 35% of the student body of any one school consists of minority children.

This is not to say that the Constitution requires a fixed racial balance in public schools. The Court only uses the figure as a "useful starting point in shaping a remedy for past constitutional violations." Swann v. Board of Education, supra, at 25. This is a very limited use of a mathematical ratio since it will only affect five of the defendant's 94 schools. This is clearly within the equitable discretion of the Court. Swann v. Board of Education, supra; Kelly v. Guinn, supra.

(b) The District's Plan is also insufficient in that it does not go far enough in providing for faculty integration. Therefore, the defendant shall comply with the following formula suggested by Dr. Stolee. Before there are more than two minority teachers in any one elementary school, there shall be at least one minority teacher in all elementary schools. For these purposes, principals and assistant principals shall be considered teachers. The faculties of the secondary schools shall be integrated so that each has approximately the same proportion of minority to majority teachers as there are minority to majority teachers in the whole system.

make itself to
possibility of a non-
minority teaching
minority.

While the Court is convinced that there are sound reasons of educational policy for delaying final implementation of defendant's Plan until the 1974-75 school year, it can see no similar justification for delay of faculty integration. Therefore this Plan for faculty integration shall be fully completed by the opening of the 1973-74 school year. Every effort should be made to complete one-third of the changes necessary to achieve this result by the beginning of the 1972-73 school year.

3. The District shall not allow any transfers by principal's agreement or otherwise which have the effect of increasing the segregated nature of either the sending or receiving schools. United States v. Board of Education, Independent School District No. 1, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 429 F.2d 1253 (10th Cir. 1970).

4. Any construction of new schools or additions to old schools beyond what is contemplated in the Plan shall be submitted to the Court for approval. It is not anticipated that any plans which would have the effect of increasing current segregation would be approved. U.S. v. Board of Public Instruction, Polk County, Fla., 395 F.2d 66 (5th Cir. 1968).

5. Before any changes may be made in the District's Plan for Desegregation/

integration which will have the effect of increasing or aggravating the existing segregation in defendant's schools or which will in any way delay full implementation of the Plan, the changes must be approved by this Court.

6. Periodic reports shall be made by the defendant every six months until ordered otherwise by the Court. Such reports shall indicate the number of students and teachers by race for each school in the District. They shall also advise specifically of what steps have been taken toward implementing the Plan, and indicate any place where the timetable of the Plan is not on schedule. The reports shall be filed by the 31st of December and the 1st of July each year, commencing December 31, 1972. A copy of the report shall be presented to plaintiffs' counsel at the time it is filed with the Court, and his comments will be seriously considered.

IT IS SO ORDERED.

May 24, 1972.

/s/ Earl R. Larson
United States District Judge

- SUMMARY -

Desegregation/Integration 1972-1975
Proposals for Consideration Based on the 1970 Human Relations Guidelines

Submitted to the

BOARD OF EDUCATION

Richard F. Allen, Chairman

Frank E. Adams	W. Harry Davis	Mrs. Marilyn A. Borea
Philip A. Olson	David W. Preus	Stuart W. Rider, Jr.

Introduction

I. General Program Support

  A. Expanded Urban Transfer Program
  B. Curriculum Development and Specialized Programs
  C. Personnel Practices
  D. Faculty and Staff Development
  E. The Student
  F. The Community
  G. The State of Minnesota
  H. Research and Evaluation
  I. Basic Skills Improvement

II. Elementary Desegregation/Integration Program

  A. Introduction
  B. Components
  C. Map
  D. Summary (Costs, etc.)

III. Secondary Desegregation/Integration Program

  A. Introduction
  B. Components
  C. Maps (Junior and Senior High Schools)
  D. Summary (Costs, etc.)

IV. Conclusion

APPENDIX B

Table 2

Minneapolis Public Schools Personnel Sight Count, 1970-71

Total Personnel

	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Principals	0	0	5	5.05	0	0	0	0	94	94.95	5	5.05	99
Principal Assistants	1	1.61	9	14.52	0	0	0	0	52	83.87	10	16.13	62
Classroom Teachers	8	0.27	140	4.73	14	0.47	8	0.27	2,791	94.26	170	5.74	2,961
Other Certificated	2	0.29	39	5.73	2	0.29	1	0.15	637	93.54	44	6.46	681
Total Certificated	11	0.29	193	5.07	16	0.42	9	0.24	3,574	93.98	229	6.02	3,803
Non-certificated	37	1.40	202	7.67	6	0.23	7	0.27	1,891	71.79	252	9.57	2,634
Grand Total	48	0.75	395	6.14	22	0.34	16	0.25	5,956	92.53	481	7.47	6,437
	Native Americans		Black Americans		Oriental Americans		Spanish Surnamed Americans		All Other Americans		Total Minority Americans		Totals

Table 3

Minneapolis Public Schools Personnel Sight Count, 1971-72

TOTAL PERSONNEL

	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
PRINCIPALS	0.	0.0	6.	6.19	0.	0.0	0.	0.0	91.	93.81	6.	6.19	97.
ASST. PRIN.	1.	1.79	8.	14.29	0.	0.0	0.	0.0	47.	83.93	9.	16.07	56.
TEACHERS	8.	0.28	150.	5.25	13.	0.45	12.	0.42	2676.	93.60	183.	6.40	2859.
OTHER CERT.	7.	0.77	56.	6.15	3.	0.33	2.	0.22	843.	92.54	68.	7.46	911.
TOT CERT.	16.	0.41	220.	5.61	16.	0.41	14.	0.36	3657.	93.22	266.	6.78	3923.
NON-CERT.	30.	1.07	219.	7.80	7.	0.25	12.	0.43	2541.	90.46	268.	9.54	2809.
TOTALS	46.	0.68	439.	6.52	23.	0.34	26.	0.39	6198.	92.07	534.	7.93	6732.
	Native Americans		Black Americans		Oriental Americans		Spanish Surnamed Americans		All Other Americans		Total Minority Americans		Total

APPENDIX C

Elementary-school Class Observation

The class of twenty-one pupils (16 white, 5 black) were 7-, 8-, and 9-year-olds who appeared to be grouped heterogenously. There were four clusters of students grouped for reading.

The teacher (white female) had groups rotate to her for a reading lesson while other pupils were engaged in seat-work assignments which had been written on the blackboard. No basal texts were in evidence and the children worked from workbooks which the teacher graded each night. The clas classroom atmosphere seemed organized although permissive, and there was some indication of teacher-pupil planning.

The teacher employed small group instruction, using the modified continuous progress instructional approach (so-called on the basis of the regrouping strategy). The only obvious illustration of children from different ethnic groups working together was during the reading groups. However, no absolute assumption can be made since reading was the only major activity observed. The teacher reported a slight tendency for black boys to stay together although there has been no resultant racial hostility. Two black children were observed in each of the two reading groups.

There were no visible problems with the instructional program, and no occurrence which required disciplinary action by the teacher. During the observation period, supporting classroom personnel were not present.

Bulletin boards in the room were covered with exhibits of the children's art, including a few pictures with black figures. There were no displays depicting cultural diversity, nor any observable texts or materials of a multi-ethnic nature. A sports magazine having a black athlete on the cover was among other supplementary materials placed on the table.

Elementary School Observation

The school is housed in an old building which has been kept in good repair. It will be converted to non-school use next year when a cluster plan will be put into effect.

There is a white principal and a black assistant principal with 95% black pupils. The faculty consists of 23 white teachers and 4 black teachers.

One is impressed by the quite atmosphere, the warm interactions between staff and students and the fact that everyone is busy working to achieve an effective learning-teaching interaction.

One is negatively impressed, however, with the lack of evidence of environmental and curricular adjustments to accommodate the almost all-black student body. The library did have a display for Black History Week at the direction of the State Education Department. The books would be returned to the shelves after one week, leaving only a picture of Martin Luther King, Jr., in the hall near the principal's office, with very little else to enhance the identification or self-concept of black children or to indicate that at least some studies were directly relevant to the children's interests.

High School Class Observation

A class in Cinematics, an English Department elective, was observed because it was recommended as one with a good racial distribution.

By sight count there were 15 white, 3 black, 2 Spanish and 1 Native American student, present together, representing a distribution of several grade levels and, apparently, a wide range of abilities.

The class was quiet and appeared ready for work even in light of reflected moods of indulgence, as the teacher presented the instruction as one lesson to the entire group.

The teacher (white female) stated that the class was involved in viewing a segment of a feature-length film -- An American In Paris. Generally, the class schedule is such that the first 3 days of each week are used for viewing a film. On the fourth day, essays are written in the form of a critique of the film inclusive of a personal reaction to its technical and artistic qualities. On the fifth day, students have the opportunity to share a discussion of their observations and ideas. Everyone is encouraged to relate true impressions without fear of a negative evaluation from the teacher or other classmates. Students are graded according to their participation in the classroom process and their work assignments.

The films shown are of varied types and many of the current ones have a social theme. On the other hand, certain films are not shown for this reason. Student suggestions on films are considered whenenever there are no probable causes for community reaction.

The teacher reported that one of the controls she has difficulty in establishing is to have the students deal with the tehcnical and artistic qualities of a film rather than its content (one example used was the emotional state of students following a film on Native Americans).

It is believed that, if handled properly, the class would present a good opportunity for human relations activity.

Task Force on Ethnic Studies - An Observation

The task force was formed at the time desegregation became a reality in Minneapolis, with the responsibility to develop curriculum and study units reflecting minority or ethnic populations' achievements and contributions to society. To date, most of the work of the task force has concerned black studies; a smaller part of the work has included Indian and Chicano studies. A new direction undertaken to develop materials and resources involving Scandanavian ethnicity, as a high percentage of the white population of Minneapolis are of Scandanavian descent.

The facility housing the task force is one large room adjacent to an elementary school; there is storage space in the basement. The director, three curriculum specialists, a graphic arts specialist, and a secretary comprise the staff.

The room is filled with books about ethnic minorities, especially Blacks. One of the task force functions is to review and either recommend or reject books with ethnic themes. Those books evaluated as representative of the finest quality are bought in multiple copies and may be borrowed by teachers and schools throughout the system. The collection of materials also includes a smaller number of filmstrips and records.

Task force members may be asked to serve as consultants in individual schools through such forms as teaching a unit, developing a teaching unit providing in-service training, advising for the purchase of resource materials, or collecting the necessary materials requested by a teacher.

The following list provides an example of some of the units already developed: *Blacks, Depression and the New Deal*; *Soul of the Black Experience*; *Birth of Afro-American Spirituals and Workshops*; *An Examination of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.*; *Civil Rights Organizations*; *Leadership and Objectives*; *Legacy for All: A Record of Achievements by Black Scientists*; and *Which Way Black Americans*? A row of file cabinets houses a collection of such units.

It was particularly interesting and stimulating to note the energetic way in which the task force worked and the degree of success its efforts obviously received in a number of the schools. This is especially true in the fact of rapidly diminishing Ethnic Studies Programs at the university level.

One obvious weakness of this task force is insufficient funds. Additional curriculum specialists are needed to expand the scope of the work; several research assistants are needed to do bibliographic work and help update some of the older units; and more time should be allotted for the release of the curriculum specialists to work in the individual schools. A central administrative weakness also exists. There appears to be no apparent systematic procedure for the dissemination of materials to the schools and it is difficult to envision a staff relationship from this task force to any central office, service staff, or individual school. Thus the responsibility is totally upon the individual teacher or school to request information or service. Given the richness of this resource, a better organized delivery system is eminent.

An additional observation seems equally important. Most of the teaching and counselling staff interviewed expressed a desire to end the human relations training and to begin to concentrate on assisting teachers and staff in learning more effective systems and methods by which academic subjects might be offered to students. If this request is as major as it appears to be, it seems reasonable that the Task Force on Ethnic Studies would be a proper place to look for this assistance.

DESEGREGATION IN ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

A CASE STUDY

Data Collected by
Desegregation Study Team

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PREFACE

In February, 1974 a research team of six persons, representing Teachers College, Columbia University, went to Orangeburg District No. 5, Orangeburg, South Carolina, to do a follow-up of a 1972 study which documented the efforts the district and community made in desegregating its schools. Orangeburg was one of five school districts included in the comparative study of desegregated settings, funded by the National Institute of Education, which had as its goal the documentation of key processes that are associated with the evolution of an effective desegregation plan.

During the three-day visit the team visited five of the district's nine schools, met with staff at the central administrative office and conferred with parents and community persons in the evenings. The study consisted of formal and informal observations, i.e., in classrooms, hallways, cafeterias, etc.; and, structured and unstructured interviews with central administrative staff, a sample of faculty and staff in each school visited, and with students, parents and community persons. It focused not only on the key processes, but on the perceptions of these various individuals who were affected by the processes. A total of twelve instruments were used to insure the adequacy and consistency of data.

It is worth repeating that the study describes the process rather than evaluating the long range effects it has had on the citizenry. While the latter would be a desirable goal in itself, and has been the focus of numerous studies, the team was too limited in terms of time, manpower and study design to address in a complete sense the social, psychological and economic effects desegregation had on the city.

A word of thanks and appreciation are due to school persons at all levels, and to community persons for their complete cooperation with the team. A word of special thanks to Mr. W. J. Clark, Superintendent, Mrs. Irene Myers, Assistant Superintendent and the remainder of the staff for making the study possible.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Description of Town and Demographic Data[1]

Orangeburg, the county seat of Orangeburg County, is located in the midlands area of South Carolina. It was named for William IV, the Prince of Orange, who was the son-in-law of King George II of England. The city, now populated by 13,252 persons, was first settled in 1704 by an Indian trader, George Sterling.

In 1730, the General Assembly of South Carolina encouraged settlement into the interior of the state by establishing eleven townships of 20,000 acres each along the banks of chief rivers. In 1735, a colony of 200 Swiss, German and Dutch immigrants formed a community near the banks of the Edisto River. The site was attractive because of the fertile soil and the abundance of wildlife. The river provided an outlet to the port of Charleston for the agriculture and lumber products. The town soon became well established and a successful colony, composed chiefly of small farmers.

Orangeburg played an important role in the Revolution. Since the British cause had many supporters in this area initially, the area was victimized by tragedies of divided families, acts of treachery, destructive raids, brutal murders, reprisals and widespread devastation. The town changed hands repeatedly. It was often seized, then abandoned, then reoccupied by the British and American forces. The last important battle of the Revolution in South Carolina was fought in the Orangeburg district.

Orangeburg continues to benefit from and be known by its location and the fertility of its soil. Its chief attraction is the Edisto Gardens, eighty-five acres along the North Edisto River that contain thousands of azaleas, camellias, roses and other flowers. These gardens are an official Display Garden of the American Rose Society, are open to the public at no admission charge, and serve as the center of recreational activities for the city.

While the area was once predominantly agricultural, and still maintains a high degree of agricultural activity, the Chamber of Commerce in the late 40's intensified its search for new industry for the city. The results have been the coming of light industry into the city, adding some diversity to its economy. The city is governed by a city council composed of a mayor and four councilmen. A city administrator assists the council in carrying out the city's operations.

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[1] Information in this section was taken from A Factual Look at Orangeburg, South Carolina, January 1973, by The Greater Orangeburg Chamber of Commerce; and, A Brief History of Orangeburg by Hugo S. Ackerman.

Three colleges are located in Orangeburg--Southern Methodist College, a coeducational Christian liberal arts institution; Claflin, a coeducational church-related liberal arts institution; and, South Carolina State College, described as a land-grant coeducational institution, founded by the State, that serves as a focal point in the city's cultural, social, religious, athletic and educational activities. The latter two colleges are predominantly black, and provide the city with a sizeable black middle class and student population.

South Carolina State College was infamously associated with the February, 1968 "Orangeburg Massacre" during which three unarmed students were killed and twenty wounded by state troopers. This incident was said to have mobilized even the conservative elements to action, increasing formal channels of communication between the races in the process.

Description of School District Prior to Present Desegregation

Orangeburg District No. 5 currently uses a plan which features pairing of schools in grades one through six, a central school for grade seven, one junior high school for all of the district's eighth and ninth graders, and a senior high school for all students in grades ten through twelve. Though the plan under which the district now operates will be discussed in more detail later, it is important to establish the fact that there was not a single plan that was implemented at one point in time. Rather they have experienced an evolution of plans which led to the place they now find themselves on the continuum.

In 1964 the district instituted a "freedom of choice" plan. As with other similar plans pupils attending school in the district were given preferential choice forms regarding future school assignments. These forms contained instructions that they should be delivered to parents or guardians for completion, before being returned to the school district. Upon filling these out no reason needed be given for the choice made, as assignments by the Board were made "without regard to race, color or creed to the end that, consistent with reasonable administrative requirements and within building, space and staff capabilities, there shall be complete freedom of choice in the selection of schools."

In late 1969 a class action suit was filed with the Fourth-Circuit District Court requesting it to rule that the Orangeburg District No. 5

was not in compliance with previous court orders which required them to eliminate "now" dual school systems that are based upon race. The consequence of the suit was a ruling that the rate of integration under freedom of choice was not adequate to meet the constitutional test as promulgated by the 1969 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in Green v. County Board of New Kent County.

The Board of Trustees in Orangeburg (often referred to in other places as the Board of Education, or just the Board) submitted a terminal desegregation plan to the courts for 1970-71, which featured geographical zoning. The plan, which was accepted by the courts with modifications, was modeled after a neighborhood school plan. It required students to attend the schools in the zones where their parents or legal guardians resided. The Board reserved the right to proof of legal guardian residence as it related to pupil assignment. Transfers were possible only to the extent they met the transfer policy which was:

1. Transfers were allowed when space was available in a school, students might transfer from a school in which their race was in the majority to one in which their race was in the minority.

2. When space was available, students could transfer from a school in which their race was in the minority to another school in which their race was in the minority.

Table 1 shows the black/white percentage per school in the district during the 1970-71 school year. As for faculty assignments, professional staff were involved in six scheduled workshops during the spring exploring the "innovative" efforts of team teaching in the elementary schools. With this approach to instruction each elementary school child was expected to have contact with a black and white teacher during a part of each school day. As for transportation, it was provided for any child in the district who lived a mile and a half from the school to which he was assigned.

Almost immediately after the 1970-71 plan was approved by the district court and HEW, it was appealed. The courts eventually ordered that Orangeburg District No. 5 submit another plan which would bring about complete integration. The district submitted a plan which, according to the judge who handled the case, "establishes a unitary school system which will be in full compliance with any conceivable interpretation or construction which may be placed on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." The plan provided:

1. Two junior high schools and two senior high schools be paired, which provided for 60% black and 40% white enrollment.

Table 1

Black/White Percentages Per School in Orangeburg
District No. 5 During 1970-71

School	Percent Black	Percent White
Ellis Avenue	52%	48%
Marshall	28%	72%
Mellichamp	52%	48%
Nix	96%	4%
Rivelon	40%	60%
Sheridan	26%	74%
Whittaker	79%	21%
Brookdale Junior High	77%	23%
Thackston Junior High	36%	64%
Orangeburg High	38%	62%
Wilkinson High	80%	20%

2. The elementary schools will be clustered into three attendance zones--Zone I, 60% black and 40% white; Zone II, 63% black and 37% white; and Zone III, 67% black and 33% white.

3. Faculty assignments will be made in a manner that will reflect in each school the black/white ratio that is the same pupil ratio of the district.

4. A merger of athletic teams, bands and other special programs because of pairing in the secondary schools.

5. The appointment of head athletic coaches, band and chorus directors, and other special program directors on a non-discriminatory basis--consideration given to qualification and personal desires of the coaches and directors.

With the successful appeal of the 1970-71 plan came a new plan that was approved for the 1971-72 school year. The two junior high schools in the district became one-graded, central schools. Thackston became the school for all seventh graders in the district and Brookdale the school for all eighth graders. The two high schools were paired. Wilkinson, the former black high school housed grades nine and ten and Orangeburg High, the former white high school was assigned students in grades eleven and twelve. (As was alluded to before, elementary schools were clustered into zones for attendance purposes.) In Zones I and II three elementary schools were clustered, one handling grades one and two, one grades three and four, and one grades five and six. Zone III was the exception in that it had only one school which housed grades one through six.

Table 2

Pupil Assignment 1971-72 School Year
Orangeburg County District No. 5

Secondary Schools

School	Grades
Thackston Junior High	7th
Brockdale Junior High	8th
Wilkinson High	9th-10th
Orangeburg High	11th-12th

Elementary Schools

Zone I

School	Grades
Marshall	1st-2nd
Sheridan	3rd-4th
Nix	5th-6th

Zone II

School	Grades
Mellichamp	1st-2nd
Whittaker	3rd-4th
Rivelon	5th-6th

Zone III

School	Grades
Ellis Avenue	1st-6th

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT DESEGREGATION PLAN

Circumstances Leading to Plan

As was alluded to in Chapter I, Orangeburg School District No. 5's current desegregation plan is more than the articulation of one plan that was mandated by the court. It is important to view the entire sequence of events, from the advent of "freedom of choice" to the current use of pairing if one is to meaningfully interpret and understand the whys and hows of the present organizational plan.

For all practical purposes the Orangeburg School District No. 5 is currently operating under the plan that was submitted to and approved by the courts for the 1971-72 school year. This plan was touted by the approving judge as one that "establishes a unitary school system which will be in full compliance with any conceivable interpretation or construction which may be placed on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The differences in the plan for 1971-72 and the one that is currently used were initiated by a motion by the "Defendant School District" to the jurisdictional Court. The District asked the Court's approval for changes that were ratified by the Board of Trustees to close two schools (Ellis Avenue and Thackston), to restructure grade levels in three secondary schools, and to provide accommodations for students affected thereby in accordance with the plan.

By the end of the second year of operation of the plan that was approved in 1971, the District had experienced an increase of 10% in the black population and a corresponding decrease of 10% in the white population in Zone I. Likewise it noticed that Ellis Avenue, the only school in Zone III, was losing students, black and white, to the extent that the pupil ratio there was 70% black and 30% white. The Board concluded that "due to the loss of students in Zone I, space is available to house the Ellis Avenue School students in Zone I for the 1972-73 school session and thereafter. The racial composition of the student bodies in the schools in Zone I will not be changed, as the percentage of black-white students at Ellis Avenue School is the same as that of the schools in Zone I....The Ellis Avenue School teachers will follow the students to the new school assignments and will not be dismissed. The principal of the school will become an assistant principal at the senior high school with no reduction in pay."

The Board further cited to the Courts that the organizational plan under which it was operating required students to attend four different schools during the six years of secondary school attendance.

"While this plan is an undesirable one," declared the Trustees, "the Board accepted it as the best option available at the time to disestablish the dual school systems and to form a unitary school system." One remedy proposed centered around the fact that Thackston Junior High School, the oldest building in the District, for several years was tabbed for abandonment due to enormous expenditures, i.e., $90,000, to get it into acceptable repairs as far as the State Fire Marshall was concerned. Another remedy centered around the loss of students at the secondary level. The proposed plan was thus to close Thackston, moving its grade seven students to Brookdale; establish the Belleville Campus of Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School, the formerly all-black high school, as the eighth and ninth grade school; and to use the formerly all-white Bennett Campus of Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School for tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades.

In introducing the motion for a change in the plan the Board mentioned as an advantage that accrued to students, the attendance at only three different schools during their tenure in secondary schools. The Board described the plan as superior to the one under which it was currently operating, one that is more economically feasible and one that will not change the black-white ratio in any of the secondary schools. The Board reiterated that no teachers would be displaced and that the white principal at Thackston would be moved to an assistant principalship at one of the district's secondary schools. In July, 1972 the District Court ordered that the Dependent School District's proposed changes for the years of 1972-73 and 1973-74 were approved.

Participants in Plan Design

From all that the writer was able to gather it appears that the design of the desegregation plan for Orangeburg District No. 5 was the combined creation of the Office of Health, Education and Welfare, the courts and the school administration who were naturally representing the Board of Trustees. More impetus seemed to come from the former two than the latter in that they were the initiators of action. The judge's order for the 1970-71 session contained a two-part approach as outlined by HEW. The major objectives of the phase-in program were:

1. To prepare the community for accepting school desegregation with a more positive attitude.
2. To prepare educational personnel and students to function successfully in desegregated schools.
3. To provide administrators time for planning the reorganizational steps required in the plan.

Part I of the program was actually implemented during the 1969-70 year, having its origin in the order which noted that "the nature of the proposed changes for 1970-71 will require considerable detailed planning for proper implementation." The requirements of Part I were that:

1. All administrators in the district participate in a minimum of 20 hours of leadership training with the focus on school desegregation.

2. At least two teachers from each school participate in school desegregation leadership training for a minimum of 20 hours.

3. The administrative staff arrange for preschool orientation which focuses on the problems of desegregation.

The judge suggested the following activities for Phase II:

> "A biracial advisory committee be established to advise the local school officials on matters of desegregation;
>
> "Each school establish human relations councils which will interact at least six times during the year with a similar group from a school of the opposite race. One council will be made up of teachers, parents, and community leaders, the other of students (on the secondary level). The councils will develop projects, discuss and analyze problems and review the progress of school desegregation;
>
> "...the faculties of the schools will be organized by pairs (as near as possible), one black, one white. The teachers will meet as a group as well as by grades or subject matter areas with the responsibility of planning and carrying out cooperative activities. These activities will include organized field trips, joint programs, as well as special units of work;
>
> "Teachers in like grades or subject matter field will work cooperatively. They will plan their work together and exchange positions part or all of a school day...;
>
> "All administrators will meet regularly...to plan in detail the extensive reorganization necessary for implementation for 1970-71."

Capsule of Current Plan

The current desegregation plan for Orangeburg District No. 5 had its beginning in earlier decisions mandated by the courts. As has been repeated before, to inspect the current plan without concurrently looking at its predecessors would give less than an appreciable understanding of the process the district engaged in.

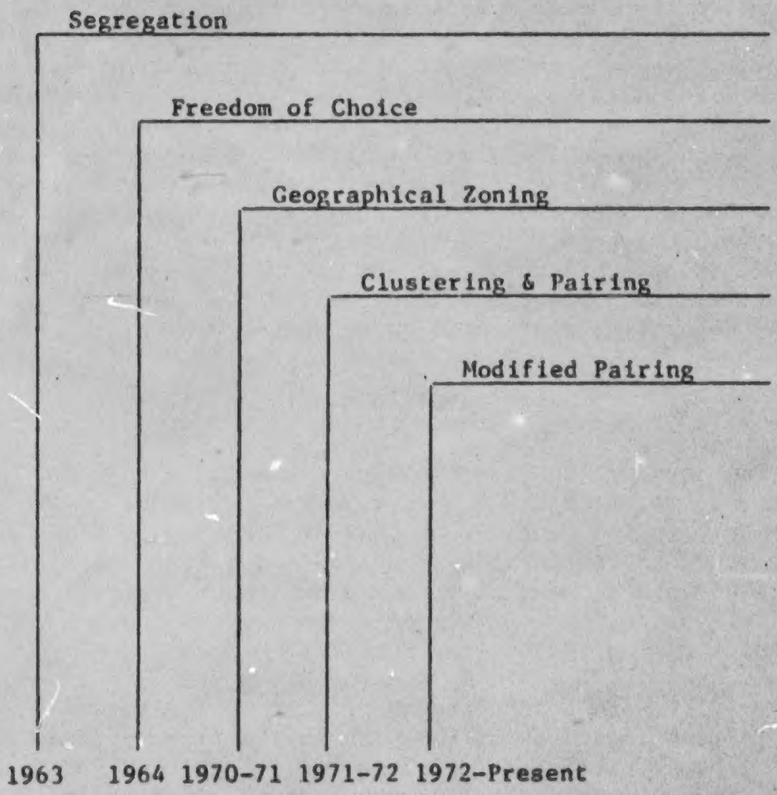
Table 3 shows a continuum of desegregation activities from the year 1963, the last year of totally segregated schools, through the current year. The school district's current plan was heavily influenced by the decision of the courts which resulted in the introduction of the clustering concept in 1971-72. Briefly that plan featured:

1. Elementary Schools - The clustering of elementary schools into three zones. Two zones would have three schools each, one school for grades 1-2, one school for grades 3-4 and one school for grades 5-6. The third zone would have one school with all six grades.
2. Secondary Schools - The two junior high schools and the two senior high schools in the district would be paired resulting in an all grade 7 school, and all grade 8 school, a school for grades 9-10 and one for grades 11-12.

The organizational plan under which the district now operates is a modification of the 1971-72 plan. It reduced the elementary zones to two by closing the school that was in Zone III, and it reduced the junior high schools by one, meaning that one school now serves as the central school for all of the seventh graders, the eighth and ninth graders are housed together, and the students in grades ten through twelve are placed in the same school.

Table 3

Continuum of Desegregation--1963-1974
Orangeburg District No. 5


Segregation
Freedom of Choice
Geographical Zoning
Clustering & Pairing
Modified Pairing
1963
1964
1970-71
1971-72
1972-Present

CHAPTER III

PROCESS LEADING TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION

Since the current desegration plan in Orangeburg District No. 5 had its origins in 1969, when the U. S. District Court was asked in a class action suit to reconsider freedom of choice as used to avoid complete desegregation, it is essential to look at the model that was proposed and implemented then, and to see how it has influenced the actions of the district since.

The August 13, 1969 issue of The Times and Democrat featured an article on the phasing in of school integration. The subheading of that article was "Judge's Two-Point Order Is Outlined." It explained the parameters of the judge's order, noting that it placed emphasis on the need for detailed planning for implementation, but more interestingly, mandating some of the ingredients that must be found in the mixture. Cognizance of the need to thoroughly prepare those in the total community who would be affected by the change(s) was manifested first in the establishment of the three major objectives of the phase-in program,i.e., to prepare the community for accepting desegregation..., to prepare educational personnel and students..., and to provide administrators time for planning....Secondly, it was seen in the itemizations of things that were prescribed for phases one and two of the program.

Articulation of Plan

The current school administration and the Board of Trustees for Orangeburg District No. 5 have made extensive use of the local newspaper to keep the public informed. This became obvious to the writer as he searched the scrapbooks maintained at the superintendent's office containing news clippings about the district's activities, affairs, issues, etc. Nevertheless, when the Court made its first pervasive ruling against the Board it ordered:

> "That promptly after the filing of this order the Board publish the terms of the plan in The Times and Democrat, a newspaper published in Orangeburg, so as to effectively notify each pupil which school he shall be required to attend next year."

The Board obeyed the mandate of the Court by publishing the features of the plan in the local newspaper. In addition to the prescribed article other articles appeared whenever an event associated with desegregation occurred. The local press was reported to have been extremely cooperative and anxious to keep the public accurately informed as the events of change unfolded in its midst.

An example of the kind of reporting the local newspaper did was revealed in an article entitled "District School Desegregation: What the People Think Really Doesn't Matter." The article was written from a positive point of view. It attempted an explanation of what the Court order meant, citing that after a series of Court actions in various parts of the country the freedom-of-choice plan was ruled unacceptable for Orangeburg District No. 5. The article made other points while trying to clarify the position of the Board. The article concluded thusly:

> "The school district desires that all expressions of opinion be transmitted to their attention, however, they cautioned against any overemotional reaction to the situation and strongly urged a calm, reasoned appraisal of the realities of the situation as it presently exists in the district."

In addition to obeying the mandate of the Court to use the newspaper in notifying pupils (and parents) of school assignments, the news article was replicated by the Board, in the form of a leaflet entitled "Information Concerning the 1970-71 School Plan for Orangeburg School District Number Five," and sent to each home. It was the intention of the Board to use a "shotgun approach" to disseminating news about the plan rather than a "single barrel" or "rifle approach" because the more persons who knew the details, the fewer the chances of disruption.

When the 1971-72 desegregation plan was finalized the Board of Trustees again turned to the local newspaper for publicity. The March, 1970 issue of The Times and Democrat carried an article "District School Plan Approved." The article described desegregation as it would occur during the ensuing school year and, in few instances, compared it to the previous year's operation. Adjacent to the article, in fact a planned part of it, was an open letter to teachers and administrators, from the Board of Trustees, urging their full support of the plan. Implicit in the letter was the attitude of the Board toward their responsibility to provide leadership and to encourage support and cooperation during the period of transition that was taking place in the lives of students and others in the community. Because of things that were explicitly and implicitly stated in the letter the writer included its contents below:

> "Public school education is faced today with its most serious challenge within our memory. It is trite but true that you as teachers are on 'the firing line'; and, without doubt, you are more personally involved than any other persons in our community. As professional educators, you are deeply concerned with quality education and your part in assuring such education for every child. As parents, you have an even more personal involvement with the quality and stability of the public educational system. As citizens of this community, your stake in

> public education to provide opportunity for ALL children and the future effects of such education is most substantial. It does not require a great imagination to visualize the situation in this community, which is your home, should the public educational system collapse.
>
> "We can and do appreciate many of the emotions which you are experiencing as you are faced with decisions and adjustments now in your personal and professional lives; and although we are not as directly involved daily in the transition, we share many of these concerns and the gravity of the problems, both those that are real and those which are imagined. Although it is impossible for us to enter each of your classrooms and share your concerns directly, we assure you of our wholehearted support, cooperation and energy to do all within our power to aid each of you in meeting this challenge.
>
> "Providing the best possible educational opportunities for every child in the district within the practical limitations of available funds has always been our foremost concern as Trustees. We shall continue to function with this same philosophy and purpose, determined to utilize every available resource to provide the 'tools, brick and mortar' necessary to build, maintain and continually improve 'quality education.' However, without skilled, dedicated artisans such as you to fully utilize these 'building materials,' any effort on our part will be in vain; and the structure that may be built could never be described as 'quality.'
>
> "We sincerely hope and trust that each of you will accept this great challenge as true professionals, determined to exert your considerable efforts to assure success for the benefit of the community now and tomorrow. We hope that you will maintain a positive attitude, determined that quality education CAN be provided, and knowing that it MUST be provided if we are to fully develop our greatest resource, our children. Your expertise in the classroom and campus is absolutely essential. We pledge to you our full support. Together, we SHALL succeed!"

The letter was signed by the members of the Board.

The previous letter was one in a series of things that occurred to make persons aware and to elicit support. The superintendent of schools took advantage of the opportunities to meet with community groups, to interface with civic groups and to periodically write a column in the local paper entitled "Your Schools." One member of the administration mentioned that "We cannot afford the luxury of leaving any stone unturned. We need all the help we can get." That message seemed inherent in activities that followed.

Teacher and Staff Preparation and Involvement

Two of the requirements in Phase I of the first pervasive plan ordered by the Courts were: (1) All administrators in the district will participate in a minimum of 20 hours of leadership training with the focus on desegregation; and (2) at least two teachers from each school will participate in school desegregation leadership training for a minimum of 20 hours. This mandate was followed as a core of teachers from all levels did participate in a series of four-day Leadership Planning Institutes designed to prepare them to cope with the problems and concerns that are associated with desegregating schools. Consultants from the University of South Carolina Desegregation Consulting Center conducted the institutes.

During the institutes the attending teachers identified and clarified the concerns that face the community, their peers, the students, as well as themselves. Primary concerns that surfaced were the maintenance of a high quality of education for all students, the problem of disciplining children of other races, the reluctance of breaking up professional acquaintances that had been intact for many years, parents'acceptance and community understanding and support. These concerns were treated through courses conducted by the Center which covered such topics as interracial counseling, human relations, communication skills and curriculum for the desegregated schools.

Student Preparation and Involvement

Emanating from the two-point order issued by the District Court was the suggestion that human relations councils be established, including on them students at the secondary level. In December, 1970, select students began attendance at one and one-half day human relations conferences conducted by the University of South Carolina's Desegregation Center. The first conference included 91 student participants, who had been recommended by the Student Executive Board, who were representative of student leaders, regular students and students with obvious prejudices and problems. Participation was predicated upon parental approval and student desire. During the session groups of eight to ten students each were formed, first to plan their agenda, then to discuss it. Each group had community facilitators, one black and one white, who periodically initiated activities and exercises to stimulate discussion. The session ended with a total group sharing of feelings, activities and recommendations.

Since the first human relations conference, several others have been held for secondary school youth, the most recent in March, 1972. Student responses to these sessions were overwhelmingly positive. They cited as evidence of personal growth and maturity such things as: (1) their development of the ability to listen to and respect others' opinions; (2) their newfound ability to talk freely and discuss prejudice openly, thus opening up the possibility of understanding each other; (3) their developing awareness that individuals often imagine a problem, i.e., white misunderstanding of black hostility toward the Confederate flag and black misunderstanding of white feelings toward the clenched fist salute.

In later sessions, discussion tended to focus more on the lack of communication with school administration and the irrelevancy of school. Recommendations made by the groups at all sessions emphasized the need for total participation and parent and faculty involvement in such sessions. However, most students voiced reservations about their own parents sharing mutually in their particular session because they feared that frank communication would be stifled.

After the July 1971 Court order, which in effect resulted in the formerly black high school becoming converted to the district's eighth and ninth grade school, and the formerly white high school becoming the district's tenth, eleventh and twelfth grade grade school, a three-day human relations preschool conference was held at a nearby resort motel. In attendance were forty student leaders from both high schools, and faculty, administrators and community representatives. The University of South Carolina Desegregation Center was again called on to conduct the conference, whose purpose was to discuss concerns resulting from the Court order such as school colors, mascots, student councils, and class officers. Students identified the major concerns in need of discussion. The outgrowth of the conference was better understanding among students, and recommendations that could be taken back to their student bodies for deliberation. The conference is credited by many as having paved the way for the smooth merger of the high schools.

Community Preparation and Involvement

One of the three major objectives listed in phase-in integration plan as detailed by the District Court in its 1969 order was "To prepare the community for accepting school desegregation with a more positive attitude." In the same order, the judge prescribed ways of involving the community, i.e., establishment of a biracial advisory committee, and the establishment of human relations councils.

As the writer will show momentarily, these mandates were honored. But in the interest of getting input from parents and keeping them informed of proceedings, evidence was found that the school administration and Board of Trustees made extensive use of other mechanisms in keeping the topic current. The Board members for example conducted a series of parent-teacher meetings to explain the situation as it related to the District Court's order. The consequence of these meetings was a series of neighborhood meetings across the city in which groups of parents met to discuss what courses of action were open to them.

During the course of these meetings three factions emerged: (1) the group that was unalterably disapproving of the Board's actions; (2) those who were not sure which course of action was feasible; (3) those who advocated seeking legal counsel to gain reconsideration of court mandates under constitutional guidelines. The second group was said to be the largest of the three. However, an outgrowth of the third group was a parent organization, Help Orangeburg Public Education (HOPE), which began as a protest to the Board's zoning plan.

HOPE's objective was to seek legal means to change the zoning plan to a "pairing" plan or some other plan which would bring about a better balance in the schools. One major interest in seeking better balance in the schools was to prevent a number of citizens from moving out of the area, and indeed hurting some of the smaller businesses who depend on local trade. Another major concern of the group was that the zoning plan had loopholes which allowed many white parents to use evasive devices to change their place of residence. Consequently, some white parents who were complying with the ruling in good faith found their child the only white child in a classroom.

HOPE's objective was said to be in some ways similar to that of the NAACP, who appealed to the zoning plan implemented by the Board. The organization, through its hired attorney made contact with the NAACP in this regard. Whether in spite of or because of the appeals made by the two organizations (there is no evidence to show that they collaborated), the Board developed and implemented a new plan, involving clustering and pairing of schools, for the next year.

One year prior to the issuance of the 1969 Court order, Orangeburg District No. 5 organized a city-wide Citizens Advisory Committee which served as a link between the community, the Board and the administration. Nevertheless, the judge's order specified the establishment of a "bi-racial advisory committee...to advise the local school officials on matters of desegregation..." During the Spring of 1970 a forty member district-wide committee, which reflected the socioeconomic and racial diversity of the area, was approved by the Board.

In addition to the above Citizens Advisory Committee the district office named an ESAP Advisory Committee to help with the setting of priorities for federal funding. Each elementary school organized a Parent Advisory Committee to consider such issues as testing and releasing test results, allocation of monies and instructional programs.

At the secondary school level an eighty-member advisory committee, whose functions the writer isn't sure of, was established. Parent involvement via Parent Teacher Organizations was negligible.

Volunteers was one means used to get parents involved. The district hired a Community Involvement Coordinator, during the fall of 1971, to recruit, orient and maintain contact with volunteers and with staff who work with them. Eighty-five (85) volunteers, one-fourth of whom were black, were working at least once a week in an assigned capacity by April, 1972.

Recognition was given to the fact that the business community needs to be kept abreast of what is transpiring in the schools. In March, 1971 an Education-Business Day Tour of one of the newer schools was coordinated by the superintendent and others in the district. The purpose of the tour was to allow businessmen of the area to get a closer look at the functions and problems of a modern school in the Orangeburg area, and to promote a better understanding between businesses and schools. According to a newspaper quote from the president of the Chamber of Commerce, "A great many facets of the school operation were examined and I think the businessmen got a much better understanding of how vast a responsibility the schools cover."

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES INCIDENT TO DESEGREGATION

Not unlike other districts that have undergone myriad changes with the advent of desegregation, Orangeburg District No. 5 had need to look at programs and practices, and their applicability for the new situation. While it is true that certain practices were suggested by the courts, other programs were sought out by the school administration with the hopes that each student in the district would receive a "quality education."

Curriculum Changes, Organizational Changes and Teaching Techniques

During the 1971-72 school year each elementary school adopted a "Continuous Progress" plan which very broadly encouraged individualization within each classroom, and movement in subjects according to readiness. Though the concept was adopted as a working principle, each building principal was given a good deal of autonomy in the way he and his staff implemented it. The consequence was the introduction of a variety of approaches and programs from school to school. For example, when two elementary principals who were interviewed were asked to summarize changes that were made in their school's curriculum as a direct result of the desegregation process, one indicated that he adopted the Wisconsin Reading Design, Individually Guided Education (IGE), and Individualized Mathematics Systems (IMS). The other stated that he introduced IMS and a Sixth Grade ESAA Language Arts Program.

One common theme that tended to run through the fabrics of the organization of schools was the notion of team teaching. Team teaching was said to have "facilitated the flexible grouping required when heterogeneously mixed children of a given grade level are placed in the same classroom for instruction." The team teaching approach was also cited as being advantageous since it enabled teachers and principals to become more cognizant of individual learning styles, and more able to help individual children. Still another advantage of this approach was that it accommodated a variety of teaching styles and competencies, exposing all children to several different approaches or teaching techniques rather than one during the course of a school year.

The physical layout of most of the elementary buildings was the "cell box entering into a corridor" type. Team members were placed in close proximity in order to facilitate ease of movement for students. The closeness of teachers, in terms of location, was enhanced by the fact that each school had only two grade levels assigned to it, thus had less of a problem with assigning rooms than would have been the case if more grade levels had been involved.

When principals at the secondary levels were asked to summarize changes in their school's curriculum that came as a direct result of desegregation, the answers were more varied. The principal of the seventh grade school recalled no changes that accompanied desegregation per se, but indicated the supplementary programs did come afterwards, i.e., a reading program, and that supplementary materials were made available by way of federal funds. The junior high school principal suggested that no special changes were made in his school's curriculum even though a closer look was made by his staff of ways the work could be individualized. At the senior high school two programs were introduced: (1) Cooperative Operation for Personal Effectiveness (COPE), a team taught and managed program with white and black staff designed to help potential dropouts experience successes in subject matter areas and to improve their attitudes toward themselves and school; (2) a developmental corrective reading program to help students who were experiencing difficulty in reading.

Special Funded Programs

In a May, 1972 report issued by The Alabama Council on Human Relations, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., et al., entitled It's Not Over in the South: School Desegregation in Forty-Three Southern Cities Eighteen Years after Brown, the following reference was made to Orangeburg District No. 5: "The school district used ESAP money wisely...to finance a conference of the student leaders at a motel in Santee, South Carolina. It brought students together with school personnel and officials and community leaders to discuss problems during the coming year. The Center for Integrated Education at the University assisted with human relations and leadership training...."

There seems to be evidence that Orangeburg District No. 5 did make extensive use and perhaps wise use of special funds. For example, in 1971-72 the District's budget for current operations was estimated at 2.9 million dollars. Approximately $1 million of this budget came from special sources, i.e., Title I, Title IV, and ESAP.

In addition to human relations workshops mentioned above there were other uses made of the funds. For example, three interventionist counselors were hired to serve as student advocates on the secondary level, two men for grades 9-12 and one woman for grades 7-8. Though these grade levels were specified as their areas of responsibility the counselors did not limit their activities to them. They worked with students, serving as their advocates, while keeping close contact with regularly assigned guidance counselors and the administration in the schools, but maintaining a separate position from the latter. The counselors directed much of their effort toward work-type activities such as visiting families and working with agencies. This effort proved to be a necessary service in terms of student needs well after the initial desegregation effort.

Daily corrective reading sessions for approximately 500 elementary students were initiated with Title I funds. Corrective reading teachers were identified to work with a variety of materials in their attempts to diagnose students' reading problems, administer corrective treatment and to continually reevaluate each child's progress. As was alluded to in an earlier section, a developmental reading program was started at the high school level for students who had reading problems. A wide range of materials, coupled with recorders and other machines were used to develop interest in reading while improving skills. Volunteers were sought, by an ESAP funded coordinator, to focus on one-to-one tutoring in reading at several levels.

Title I funds were also used to support "Project Succeed," an outreach type program designed to involve potential dropouts at the secondary level in skill oriented, prevocational experiences. These funds provided several schools and classrooms with aides who assisted teachers in attempts to individualize their classes, who worked in lunchrooms, on buses and in clerical positions.

An elementary school social worker and a health-medical program were funded under Title I. The social worker, a black woman, concentrated on the entire environment of the person being worked with, and attempted to refrain from socially stigmatizing the person or family as she went about her work. The health services proved valuable because many children who received them had had no previous postbirth contact with doctors. The health program provided eyeglasses and preventive screening as well as emergency medical and dental services for eligible students.

Other uses of special funded programs included the support of staff in-service activities, support of a physical facility for high school counseling and the payment of salaries for personnel who conducted after school activities by ESAP funds. Also, just prior to implementation of the first major desegregation plan, Title III funds were used to fund an Early Childhood Education Center.

Personnel-Assignment Patterns of Administration and Staff

Upon deciding the Orangeburg case the judge ruled that for 1970-71 "faculty assignments will be made in a manner that will reflect in each school the black/white ratio that is the same ratio of the district."

As was alluded to before, the judge's order was a two-point or two-phase plan. One of the points outlined was "...faculties of the schools will be organized by pairs (as near as possible), one black, one white....Teachers in like grades or subject matter field will work cooperatively." The order went beyond stationing teaching bodies in a school to effect a racial balance. It sought to establish a mechanism that would hopefully lead to a good and workable relationship between those who must design and execute the educational programs of students.

During the 1970-71 and 1971-72 school years the district had a total of 313 faculty members, one hundred and sixty-nine (169) were black and one hundred and forty-four (144) were white. Over one-half of the staff members were transferred to new schools during these years of desegregation. This was made necessary by the reorganization of elementary schools, from ten self-contained grade one through six schools to eventually six schools with only two grade levels each, i.e., grades one and two, or three and four, or five and six. At the secondary level changes in the reorganization of the schools also resulted in shifts of staff. However, in neither case did the changes in organization result in the displacement of teachers.

During the visits to each of the five schools each principal in an interview was asked to comment on the black/white teacher ratio of his staff. Each reported that their black/white teacher ratio was close to that of the district and that it is monitored frequently to make sure that it could pass the test of the courts.

Prior to the freedom of choice days there were five black elementary schools, grades one through six; one black seventh grade school; one black eighth grade school; and, one black high school. Likewise there were five white elementary schools, grades one through six; one junior high, grades seven and eight; and, one white high school. This brought to a total fifteen schools in the district. During the course of years six schools have been either closed or put to a modified use, three of those were the once all black and three the once all white.

Of the six elementary schools that remain, two have retained black principals. The same is true of the district's grade seven school and its schools for eighth and ninth graders. At the onset of staff changes, assistant principals of the opposite race were placed in each secondary school. That pattern has remained constant, and holds true in all but one case, other than the senior high school where there are both one black and one white assistant.

The central administrative staff is predominantly white. However, it does have one black assistant superintendent, one black lunchroom supervisor and some black clericals on staff.

Assignment of Students by Subject and Subject Difficulty

In an attempt to determine how students are assigned to classes and levels within subjects, the members of the study team made casual observations of several classrooms at each level, interviewed students, teachers and counselors, and asked each principal to describe his method of assigning students. The principal at the high school was also requested to provide information on the racial distribution of students by subjects and levels of difficulty in academic courses.

At the elementary level each of the two interviewed stated that students are grouped heterogeneously across the school. They acknowledged that there is skill grouping within classrooms to complement attempts at individualization. The principal in the seventh grade school indicated that students are grouped according to ability in language arts, but there is virtually no such grouping in other subjects. At the eighth and ninth grade levels there is ability grouping in language arts but none in other courses. At the senior high level it was stated that there is a pretty rigid grouping of students in English and history, i.e., students' grade point averages, test scores and recommendations determine placement. Grouping patterns at the high school are undergoing change because of some difficulties the school encountered with HEW about the racial composition of classes.

Table 4 shows the racial distribution of classrooms observed by members of the team while they were in Orangeburg District No. 5. It should be noted that the "Total No. Students" column was obtained by a casual count by the observing team member. It does not take into account the actual number of students enrolled, the number of students who might have been absent from school or out of the classroom during the observation. It should also be noted that the classes listed at the elementary level were not all at the same school. The racial distribution of students per classroom reflects the fact that classrooms like the school district are predominantly black. What was a 52% white/48% black school district in 1964 is now a 70% black/30% white, due to white flight.

The team also asked some students in grades eight through twelve who were in study halls during the team's visit to respond to an item on a Student Interview form, namely "How was the program you are now enrolled in selected?" Possible choices were:

a. my own choice

b. advised by my counselor

c. suggested by parents

d. assigned to me

e. other

Twenty-four (24) students in grade eight responded. Eleven (11) or 46% selected "a," suggesting that they chose their programs; three (3) or 13% chose "b," indicating they received advice from their counselors; four (4) or 16% got suggestions from their parents; and, six (6) or 25% had their programs assigned to them. Only three ninth graders responded, each indicating that they chose their own.

A total of fifteen (15) tenth graders were asked to indicate how their programs were selected. Ten (10) or 66% chose "a," one (1) each chose "b" and "c," and three (3) or 20% chose "d." Five (5) students in grade eleven responded, four (4) or 80% choosing "a" and one (1) choosing "b." Fifteen (15) students in grade twelve recorded similar choices with ten (10) or 66% selecting "a," two (2) or 14% "b" and one (1) or 7%, "d."

In a final attempt to determine how students' programs are assigned, one counselor at the junior high and one at the senior high schools were asked "How are student programs determined (ability, interests, etc.)? The junior high counselor indicated that "test scores, teacher recommendations, and student choice" are used; the counselor at the senior high school indicated that the process at one time was "advised" tracking. The procedure now is to give students orientation about requirements for college and job entry and have students choose from among options.

The larger percentage of students who responded to the item on program selection indicated that their choice is the determining factor. Responses from counselors tended to support the response, though the junior high counselor did mention that other factors are involved.

Extracurricular Activities

After the July, 1971 court order, a three-day human relations conference was held, involving forty student leaders from the black and white high schools, as well as faculty, administrators and community representatives, at a resort motel that is in close proximity to Orangeburg. The purpose of the conference was to discuss concerns about the merger of school colors, mascots, student councils, and class officers. This conference is credited by many as paving the way for a smooth merger of the high schools.

During the initial period of desegregation officers from the formerly all-black and all-white high schools served as joint officers.

The rationale for this was that each school had elected officers prior to the court order and that the election results should be honored. Student council representation at large was elected from homerooms with the belief that these rooms reflect the racial percentages in the school and would be the best mechanism to use. During this initial period the activity which contributed most to a sense of unity was the football team that won the state championship.

For the purpose of getting some perspective on the amount of ethnic participation there is in extracurricular activities in Orangeburg District No. 5, particularly at the senior high level, the principal in the high school was asked to complete forms entitled "School Athletic Teams" and "Schools, Clubs, and Other Extracurricular Activities (Exclusive of Varsity Athletics)." On the former he was requested to record the major athletic teams in the school, and to identify the racial composition of the teams' members and leaders. The latter similarly asked for information about the racial composition of major clubs and organizations.

School Athletic Teams

Table 5 shows the number of major athletic teams found at Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School, the amount of total team participation, the racial breakdown per team and the race of each team's leader. It shows that except for Basketball which has all black members and Golf which has all white members, there is biracial participation on other teams, but that blacks tend to dominate athletics. Baseball and Tennis are exceptions to black dominance, both are represented by 50% white and 50% black participants. But on other squads blacks are represented in proportions greater than they are represented in the total school's population.

There is nothing particularly striking about the leadership pattern that emerged. Most of the positions reflect the same racial makeup as was observed on the teams.

School Clubs, Organizations and Extracurricular Activities

Some of the major clubs and organizations, their racial makeup vis-a-vis members and leaders, are shown on Table 6. One notes that the clubs and organizations listed by the principal do not include the student council. Without assuming any reasons for the omission the team accepted the list as those organizations the principal felt to be of major importance. It should be noted, however, that interviews with students considered it most essential that the presidency and vice presidency of the student council were held by blacks.

As is the case with athletic teams and as Table 6 reveals blacks are generally represented in greater numbers in school clubs and organizations than they are in the school's population. The most noticeable exception is in the case of the National Honor Society where they make up only 32% of the membership. In two of the fourteen organizations listed, the membership is all black. There are no clubs or organization where the converse is true.

The leadership structure differs somewhat from that which emerged in athletics. In certain instances where whites are in the minority in terms of total number of members, they hold elected leadership positions, i.e., Pep Club is 15% white and has a white president and secretary, Bare News is 36% white and has a white president; Drama is 20% white and has a white president.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS TOWARD PLAN, PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Chapter V's focus is on the perceptions, attitudes and characteristics of persons in the Orangeburg school and broader community whose lives were confounded by the desegregation process. It attempts to more clearly relate how individuals, e.g., principals, teachers, students, parents felt, as well as how much they knew about the desegregation plan(s), and the program and practices that were initiated as a result.

The Plan

Perceptions of Principals

Five principals in Orangeburg District No. 5 were interviewed. In an attempt to get a reading on their involvement in, knowledge of, and feeling about the district's desegregation plan, each was asked to respond to the following statements:

1. Describe how you were involved in the district's desegregation plan.

2. Describe the way(s) you were affected by the plan and your feelings about such.

Each principal's response revealed a knowledge of the plan; two of the five indicated that they had worked directly with the Desegregation Center at the University of South Carolina as it planned human relationship workshops; others suggested that their involvement was limited to working with teachers' attitudes. The implication drawn from the responses was that these principals knew about the plan(s), perhaps reacted to it or them before they were publicized, but had otherwise made little input into it.

Regarding the feelings of these persons about the plan and its effect on them, most chose to answer only that part of the question that would obscure feelings. For example, one principal explained the conditions which led to his being in the district, and two explained the impact of a change in student bodies and/or grade level structure. Two did speak of the personal impact the plan had on them and/or their families; e.g., one, who had students in the school district at the advent of the geographical zoning plan, disagreed with the plan because it placed an undue portion of the burden for desegregation on some residents as opposed to all; the other explained that his new assignment, which he received as a direct outcome of desegregation and one over which he had no control, resulted in a reduction of pay.

Perceptions of Teachers

Fourteen (14) teachers of varying grade levels and subjects were interviewed during the onsite visit to Orangeburg District No. 5, four (4) in elementary schools, three (3) at the seventh grade school, three (3) at the junior high school, and four (4) at the senior high school. All teachers were asked to respond to a series of questions that revealed their knowledge of the plan and their perceptions of the way the plan is working. The questions and the frequency counts per item are listed below.

1. Are you familiar with the integration plan?

a. yes	13
b. no	1
c. vaguely	0

The respondent who answered "no" indicated that he/she came after the implementation, thus much talk about the plan.

2. How did you become familiar with the integration plan? What was the extent of articulation by school officials?

No answer given - 1
School meetings with principal and/or superintendent - 9
Media communications - 3
Advisory Council participation - 1

3. How did the school district officials prepare faculty and staff for integration as outlined by the plan?

Plan detailed in media and personal letter to teachers - 8
Sensitivity and/or human relations meetings - 8
Superintendent and/or principal conducted speeches at PTA's, faculty meetings, community meetings - 9
Black/white faculty exchanges between formerly black and formerly white high schools - 5
No answer - 1

4. How was the faculty and staff involved in planning for integration as reflected in the plan?

Not involved or not sure - 9

Superintendent and/or principals held brainstorming sessions with teachers to get their input - 3
No answer - 2

5. What were the major concerns of faculty and staff over the integration plan?

Lack of teaching taking place due to working through mechanics of the plan - 1
Afraid of general contact between the races (professional contact would lead to social contact) - 2
White teachers felt black teachers to be inferior - 2
Fear of black teachers working under white administrator - 1
Fear of black teachers and principals being displaced - 5
Withdrawal of white students - 2
Ability of black students, maintaining standards - 4
Breaking up of neighborhoods - 2
Unpredictable outcomes - 5

6. How did the district respond to those concerns?

Made provisions for black and white teachers to engage in dialogue of a professional and personal nature - 5
District held frequent meetings and gave teachers assurances - 2
District did nothing in response to those concerns - 3
District renamed three (3) blacks as principals, and some as assistants - 1
District was ambivalent, middle of the road, tried to appease - 1
No answer - 2

7. What were the major concerns of parents and the community over the plan?

Maintaining quality education - 1
Social contact between races - 8
Probable increase in use of corporal punishment - 1
Bussing - 2
Morals of blacks - 1
Not sure - 2
No answer - 1
Deterioration of the athletics program - 1

8. How did district officials respond to those concerns?

Tried and encouraged "all known methods" of instruction - 1
Officials tried to overlook concerns or use hands off policy - 2
District used newspapers and informative meetings to keep people in touch - 3

District did nothing - 2
Not sure - 3
No answer - 2
Orientation of administrators to concerns of public - 1

9. What is being done now on an on-going basis to improve the integration efforts?

Nothing - 9
Not sure - 1
Nothing on faculty level, but PTA keeps parents informed - 1
Integration is now an established fact and people don't think about it anymore - 2
No answer - 1

10. What communications or directions have you received from the central office to guide you in effecting integration?

None because they are not needed now - 8
To keep racial balance at 70% black and 30% white - 2
Don't talk about integration anymore - 3
No answer - 1

11. What communications or directions have you received from your principal to guide you in effecting integration?

Principals don't focus on or talk about integration anymore - 5
None needed now - 5
Keep the racial balance 70% black and 30% white - 2
Encouragement of interaction of staff and students - 1
No answer - 1

12. In general, how would you say integration is working in your school?

Well - 2
Working far beyond dream - 1
Extremely well - 1
Very well - 1
Fair - 3
Not well - 2 (reasons given were (1) because of white students having left the public school in large numbers and (2) black and white bodies in same classes but no appreciable increase in blacks' achievement level).

13. In summary, what would you say were the key factors which led to successful integration?

Acceptance of reality - 3
Pressure from courts and HEW - 1

Cooperation, dedication and attitudes of teachers and administrators - 4
The fact that the district is small, bussing not much of a problem, college influence on the community, human relations workshops - 1
Presence of black administrators in school - 1
Strong leadership in schools - 2
Not working well - 2

Perceptions of Counselors

One counselor was interviewed at each of the junior high schools and the senior high. They were asked to respond to basically the same set of questions that was presented to the teachers. Both counselors had knowledge of the plan, but the junior high counselor had become employed in the district after the plan had been implemented.

The senior high school counselor was involved in the planning and implementation of human relations training sessions which involved students, teachers and the community. He indicated that these sessions were the primary means of preparing faculty and staff for integration.

Regarding faculty and staff concerns they were enumerated as being (1) the level of education dropping off, (2) teaching of students from different ethnic groups, and (3) the possible increase of discipline problems that would accompany change. He recalled that these concerns were responded to through meetings of black and white teachers and administrators with the hopes of opening up channels of communication between them.

As for parents' concerns, he stated that he could not articulate those of black parents, but white parents were concerned about maintaining quality education and keeping discipline problems at a minimum. The district attempted to keep the public informed through Advisory Council meetings and representation, the news media, Board of Trustees meetings and meetings with community groups from time to time.

When the two counselors were asked for their feelings about the success of integration in their schools, both emphatically stated that integration was proceeding very well. They listed as key factors in the success of integration as being:

- Thorough orientation of faculty and staff.
- Free flow of information between administration and staff.
- Human relations workshops, including faculty and staff, students and community persons were successful.

- Filtering of information from administration and schools to Advisory councils and media.
- Willingness on part of citizens, school officials and political people of "good will" to accept the mandates of the courts and to see that justice prevails.

Parents' and Community Persons' Perceptions

A total of twenty individuals were interviewed from the community, some in individual sessions and some in group sessions. Of the twenty persons interviewed, thirteen (13) were black and seven (7) were white. Most of these persons had children in the public schools, though one of the black parents and one of the whites had students in private schools.

When asked if they had knowledge of the series of desegregation plans that have been implemented in Orangeburg District No. 5, each responded positively. Three of those interviewed had served on "advisory" committees but none of the individuals had had a personal hand in the development of the plan. It seemed to be consensus that the community was adequately informed through community meetings and news media about the plans as they evolved. This was not to say that the community was in total agreement on the plans that were ultimately implemented.

Those persons interviewed were asked to list major concerns or problems that emerged during desegregation of schools. The common concern expressed by whites and blacks was maintaining quality education. Other concerns were split along color lines. Whites were concerned about the social contact of black and white students in school, but more importantly outside the school structure. It was feared by many that such closeness would bring about a co-existence that wasn't good for the community as a whole. Related to this was a concern about the morals of black students, their tendency to be disruptive and their patterns of interest which differed from that of whites. Some expressed concern that in spite of the fact that many black teachers were highly credentialed, they were felt to be inferior to whites.

White flight was a major concern of the whites who were interviewed. It was felt that the departure of a sizeable number of white students from the public schools could create havoc for the district. It would imperil the future of whites who were forced to remain because of the probability of the economic base of the school district shrinking. To a lesser degree bussing was raised as an issue. To a surprising degree the maintenance of a viable athletic program was cited as an issue by four of the whites interviewed. The concern was that by merging the two high school student bodies and athletic programs, one half of the students who would normally participate would cease to do so. Related was the concern that athletics would turn "all black."

Black parents and community persons had a different set of issues that bothered them. One of the early concerns expressed by blacks was the possible displacement of black administrators with the advent of desegregation. Some expressed that blacks seemed to be "good enough to handle black segregated education..., they were not good enough to handle desegregated education." They wanted to insure that this stereotypic characteristic did not present itself as a truism to the school administration. Related to this concern was the black/white teacher ratio and the black/white administrator ratio which exists in the district. Though 70% of the students are black, only 50% of the teachers are black and 20% of the higher echelon administrators are black.

A major concern of blacks interviewed, which grew out of desegregation, was the "arbitrary placement" of black students in vocational courses or areas under the pretense that their reading ability would not allow placement otherwise, and under the pretense that these students are behavioral problems. They were also concerned about the need for each school to provide adequate supports for the cognitive styles and cultural uniquenesses of black students once desegregation took place.

When both groups were asked to list ways the district and schools responded to their concerns, there was a range of responses from the districts--schools did nothing to the district and schools did all that one could ask. The main response was that the district and school attempted to work with staff and community to sensitize them to the impending changes, to solicit their help and understanding and to keep them informed in what was happening.

How can one improve upon the plan as designed by Orangeburg District No. 5? Though there were preferences mentioned for maintaining "freedom of choice" or geographical zoning as opposed to pairing, no one suggested ways that the desegregation plan could be improved. The main response, stated parenthetically was, given the mandate of the court and the constraints within which the district had to work, the plan which evolved is as good as could have been designed. Most felt the plan is working but that it only sets the stage. The real action must be provided by the professional staff hired by the district to teach.

Social and Friendship Patterns of Faculty, Staffs and Students

The team sought to determine the kinds of social and friendship patterns that are emerging as a result of the desegregation process in Orangeburg District No. 5. Each principal and teacher interviewed was asked to share his/her perceptions of the interactional patterns between black and white staff and students. Additionally, students and parents were asked to share their perceptions of the status of social and friendship relations between black and white students.

Principals' Perceptions

Student/Student Interaction:

Each principal was asked to respond to the question "To what extent do students group themselves in the following: (1) Before/after school, (2) Lunchrooms, (3) Assemblies, (4) Classrooms, and (5) School events?" Elementary schools responded thusly:

> "There is absolutely no tendency toward reluctance to mingle as friends."
>
> and
>
> "Pretty good bit for a non-neighborhood school."

Each principal was responding basically to the interaction pattern before school. There was lack of assuredness about the extent of relationships beyond the school. As for lunchrooms, one principal explained that the groupings are usually by sex rather than race, in situations not controlled by the teacher. There are few assemblies and no school events so these options are limited. Classroom interaction is more or less controlled by the group in which the student is placed for skill purposes.

The principal at the seventh grade school indicated that 80% of the students are bussed in and that the transporting of students precludes the formation of after school friendships. He acknowledged that black and white students interact to "some extent" in the lunchroom and classroom but very little otherwise.

The junior high school principal indicated that a very small percentage of students from ethnically different environs interact together. However, he felt that the number was growing and cited a group called "Youth for Christ" as being one instrument to bringing about cross-racial understanding. He stated that students have interacted "very well" during in-school settings.

The principal at the senior high school wasn't sure about the extent to which friendship groups have formed across racial lines outside of school. He mentioned that there seems to be some phone calling but not a lot of socializing. While in school, students don't seem to have a hangup about sitting together and exchanging conversation. The principal recalled that there is a small core of students who do interact a lot. "There is a core of white girls and black boys getting together, too much. In fact one white family moved out of town...."

Each principal interviewed was asked "What does the school do to foster inter-group associations?" There were three who stated that there is nothing done. The other two suggested that little is needed to foster such association, but they try to insure that each child is exposed to a black and white teacher and, in the case of play activities at the elementary level, there is racial representation on each team.

"Has there been any negative interaction between black and white students in the school?" was asked of each principal. Neither principal could recall such interactions between students though several did recall problems of a student nature that had no racial overtones, e.g., open recess and longer lunch period came near causing student disruptive problems.

Teacher/Teacher Interaction:

Each principal interviewed was asked to share his perceptions of the way black and white teachers group themselves before/after school, in lunchrooms, in lounge areas, and at teachers' meetings. The elementary principals stated that teachers relate pretty much without regard to race during school hours and/or at school activities. They suspected that there is no interacting after school.

The principal of the seventh grade school reported that interaction of teachers across racial lines during school and after is nil. There are times when teachers come into contact during planning period in the lounge. However, interaction is still minimal. At the junior and senior high levels the principals suspected that little or no interacting is done after school. The teachers at the junior high reportedly relate very well during in-school hours and activities. The relationship at the senior high school was less dramatic. Teachers that "aren't right" are tolerated, and others do relate "a little" in the lunchrooms and lounge areas.

"What does the school do to foster inter-group associations between teachers?" Except for one principal who answered that he sets up interracial teaching teams, nothing is done.

Teachers' Perceptions

Student/Student Interactions:

Each of the fourteen teachers interviewed was also asked to respond to the question "To what extent do students group themselves...?" Most of the teachers, ten (10) who represented elementary through high school levels, indicated that they suspected that few friendships across racial lines extend beyond the school environment because even during school hours students usually go their separate ways.

Those teachers who registered different perceptions of the emerging friendship patterns suggested that to varying degrees students do interact during the school day. One elementary teacher reported "considerable" interaction between black and white students in her class. Groupings in her class tended more toward sexual lines than race. Two (2) other elementary teachers stated that they control interactional patterns to a degree by assigning seating in classrooms and lunchrooms. The strategy in such assignments is to encourage intermingling. Even these teachers acknowledged that beyond the school there were forces militating against the establishment of lasting friendships.

Parents' Perceptions

Student/Student Reaction:

"How do your children interact with children of different races? Do they have friends of different races outside the school?" These were questions that were asked of the parents with whom team members conversed. The answer to question one, regardless of the race of the respondent, was always positive, e.g., "Very well...," "Without any difficulty...," "Don't notice race...." Conversely, the answer to the second question was always negative, offered with such qualifications as, "The town is still segregated...," "Racist attitudes still exists...," "The neighborhood patterns don't lend themselves to the development of such friendships...."

Students' Perceptions

Student/Student Interaction:

The following section lists responses, some verbatim, of students who were interviewed in group sessions. The questions focus on the subject of student-to-student, student-to-school and student-to-teacher interaction. The study team limited its interviews to students in grades 7-12 because of time constraints under which it was operating.

Group A - Five white students - Brookdale School

Interviewer - Could you tell us how black and white students get along in this school?

Student - Well, really I think there's not really much problem except really the biggest problem is between the whites that go to public school and the whites that go to private schools or academies.

Interviewer - What kinds of problems come up?

Student - Well, a girl friend of mine just this year started going to private school and she had friends in both schools and she invited half and half, and took us to a movie, and the girls that went to a public school and the girls that went to a private school didn't want to sit together.

Interviewer - Were they all white girls?

Student - Yes.

Interviewer - What about in school? Do you eat with black kids at lunch? What about boys?

Student - Yes Ma'am.

Interviewer - How about after school, do you ever see these kids?

Student - Yes ... sometimes (in Girl Scout troops, uptown, etc.)

Interviewer - Do you have friends who are black?

Student - Yes.

Interviewer - Do they ever come over to your house? Do you go to theirs?

Student - Really nothing like spending the night.

Group B - Five black students - Brookdale School

Interviewer - In general, how do black and white kids get along here?

Student - Pretty good (students stated that trouble wasn't usually between black and white but black and black).

Interviewer - If I were to go into the cafeteria would I find black and white kids pretty freely eating and socializing together?

Student - Depends on where that seat is.

Interviewer - Do you have close white friends?

Student - Friends are mostly black (have a few good white friends in school).

Interviewer - Are most of your good friends from right around your community?

Student - Friends come from all over the place (white friends mostly in school).

Interviewer - Do you find a lot of other black kids in this school with white friends and vice versa?

Student - Some have really good friends (pattern that emerged was "we have white friends," "our closest friends are black," "we all get along").

Interviewer - Is there much dating between black and white kids around here?

Student - No!!

Group C - Eight black students - Bellville Junior High

Interviewer - Do black students and white students get along together? Do black and white student socialize and work together at this school?

Student - Sometime. Don't see a whole lot of it.

Interviewer - Is there much fighting between the races?

Student - Haven't had any this year.

Interviewer - Do you have white friends?

Student - "Some, maybe one or two."

Interviewer - Do white friends come to your home?

Student - Friendly only at school.

Interviewer - Is there a lot of dating between black and white students?

Student - There is a little, maybe a couple of white girls who date black boys (students acknowledged that reverse dating pattern is not true and that the dating must be done in secret, without parents and school administration knowing).

Group D - Seven white students - Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School

Interviewer - Do black and white students interact pretty freely in this school?

Student - Not a whole lot. We all are in groups with our friends.

Interviewer - Do any of you have black friends?

Students - Oh yes! (One student's answer. The other indicated that they didn't really have close friends who were black.)

Interviewer - Is there much interaction outside the school?

Student - (Most students didn't know of much except one boy who indicated that he has an apartment of his own and he has friends regardless of race visit.)

Interviewer - Has there been or is there any interracial dating going on here?

Student - There might be a little, but certainly not a lot.

Interviewer - What about in sports, do students relate pretty well in them?

Student - Not many white kids participate in sports. The black kids dominate. It's not that white kids couldn't participate, it's just that many don't want to. Some white kids have lost the school spirit.

Interviewer - Have there been any incidents of racial tension at this school recently?

Student - No. Students here generally get along pretty good. We don't have a lot of militants around trying to start trouble.

Attitude Toward School and Teachers:

Several question were asked in the interview sessions for the purpose of getting students' feelings about the way they relate to their teachers and to school in general. Some of the responses are listed below. (Groups listed below are the same as appeared in the previous section.)

Group A -

Interviewer - What do you like most about your school?

Student - I think it is good because it is enclosed and you don't get cold weather or rain. Activities are good. I like the way they run the student government. Before, really the students didn't have much to say about the student government but here anyone who wants to can take part.

Interviewer - Boys what do you think some of the advantages and disadvantages are?

Student - Well, one thing I don't like about the school is that they don't have a gymnasium.

Interviewer - But, all told, what would you say about your school?

Student - I think I like Brookdale a lot this year.

Interviewer - Are you looking forward to going to Belleville next year?

Student - Not really. Brookdale is such a new school and it's a nice one, but I think I'll really like it, too.

Interviewer - What about the teachers? Do you find that black and white teachers treat black and white kids the same?

Student - Yes.

Interviewer - How long have you had black teachers?

Student - I have black teachers half the day.

Interviewer - In other schools? How would you say they compare?

Student - They are about the same. In the past few years the black teachers have been my favorites.

Interviewer - How come?

Student - I don't know. It just happened that way.

Interviewer - Are there any bad black teachers?

Student - I think there are, just as there are bad white teachers.

Group B -

Interviewer - How do you feel about your school?

Student - It's okay.

Interviewer - Are most of the black kids' favorite teachers black and vice versa, or can you tell?

Student - I can't tell because lots of kids like teachers that let them do what they want to do.

Interviewer - Do white teachers treat black kids the same as they do white kids?

Student - Most of them do.

Interviewer - Do you like black teachers better than white teachers and vice versa?

Student - I like all the same. If I try, they try to help me. If I meet them half the way, they will meet me the other half.

Group C -

Interviewer - What are you feelings about going to this school?

Student - This is a good school.

Interviewer - What about teachers, can you see any difference in the way white teachers treat black kids and vice versa?

Student - All the teachers treat kids the same (one student offered a minority opinion indicating that he has a black teacher who never calls on black kids. He suggested that black kids get bad treatment from both black and white teachers).

Group D -

Interviewer - How do you feel about this school?

Student - I like it. I just transferred from a private school. It was too strict and didn't offer much in subjects. This one is better, teachers, subjects and all (other students concurred that is a "pretty good school").

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers?

Student - Most are okay, some not so.

Interviewer - Can you explain what you mean?

Student - Some teachers are interested in the kids and some only about a job. These don't teach much.

Interviewer - Do you see a difference according to race? In other words are more white teachers interested in kids than black teachers and vice versa?

Student - I can't tell any difference (other students agreed).

In addition to seeking responses via group interviews a sample of students in grades 8-12 were asked to respond to an item on a Student Interview Form which read, "Do you think that most of your teachers are interested in you and really want to help you become successful in school?" Seventy-two (72) students, randomly selected from study halls during the time of the team's visit, responded. The grade-by-grade and race-by-race responses are listed below:

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 8 (N = 20)				
9 W	7	35%	2	10%
11 B	9	45%	1	5%
Grade 9 (N = 10)				
3 W	3	30%	0	0
7 B	7	70%	0	0
Grade 10 (N = 15)				
5 W	5	33%	0	0
10 B	10	67%	0	0

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 11 (N = 9)				
3 W	2	22%	1	11%
6 B	4	44%	2	22%
Grade 12 (N = 18)				
4 W	4	22%	0	0
14 B	12	67%	2	11%

The percentages used are based on the total number of all students responding for a grade. Therefore, when "Yes" responses for whites and those for blacks on each grade level are totalled, one notes that students think positively about their teachers and feel that these teachers are concerned about their welfare.

Students were also asked to respond to the question "Is there a teacher or staff member you can go to when you want to talk about some problem (school or personal) that bothers you?" The purpose of the question was to get still another reading of how students feel about their school's ability to respond to their academic and personal needs. Their responses were as follows:

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 8 (N = 19)				
9 W	7	37%	2	11%
10 B	8	42%	2	11%
Grade 9 (N = 10)				
3 W	2	20%	1	10%
7 B	5	50%	2	20%
Grade 10 (N = 12)				
3 W	2	17%	1	8%
9 B	6	50%	3	25%

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 11 (N = 4)				
1 W	1	25%	0	0
3 B	3	75%	0	0
Grade 12 (N = 14)				
1 W	0	0	1	7%
13 B	8	57%	5	36%

Fewer students in each of the grade levels, except Grade 9, responded to this question. The negative responses were more pronounced on this question. It was also noted that the trend in responses was toward more negative responses as students reached higher levels in school, e.g., 20% "No" response in Grade 9, 33% "No" response at Grade 10, 43% "No" response at Grade 12 (Grade 11 excepted).

Equality of Student Discipline

Since differential treatment of students along disciplinary lines is often the subject of controversy in desegregated settings, the team sought the perceptions of those who administer discipline, as well as those unto whom it is ministered, with the hopes of drawing generalizations about the equality or inequality thereof.

Eight principals in the Orangeburg District No. 5, some who were not personally interviewed, completed a School Information Form on which was found a section on Expulsions, Suspensions and Discipline. This section asked the respondent to estimate the number and percent of expulsions by racial groups over the last twelve months, to give the major reasons for expulsions and to identify the proportion of suspension and other discipline cases that were attributable to majority and minority group students.

Table 7 reveals that there were no expulsions reported at the elementary or the seventh grade levels (data were not available from the junior high school). In responding to the items on the School Information Form some principals noted that their suspension rates were not out of line when one uses as an index the black/white ratio which is 70%-30% for the district. Reasons given for suspensions were things such as cutting classes, skipping school, being disrespectful of others, not participating in class. The principal at the senior high indicated that suspensions only occur after "a considerable amount of counseling."

Teachers' Perceptions on Discipline

Teachers were asked to respond to the question "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are more of a problem than white students?" Ten (10) of the fourteen interviewed answered "No," two (2) did not answer, and two (2) answered in the affirmative. When the latter two were asked what is being done to change this, one answered, "Nothing," and the other indicated that she is trying to get closer to the black students and operate from a personal level.

As a follow up to the previous question teachers were asked, "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are treated preferentially, more severely, or in any way differently than are white students?" Thirteen (13) of the teachers answered "No" and only one did not respond.

Counselors' Perceptions on Discipline

The two counselors who were interviewed were requested to respond to each of the questions asked of teachers concerning comparability of disciplinary problems and treatments across racial lines. Each counselor expressed that blacks were no more of a problem than whites, nor were they treated preferentially, nor harsher than whites for disciplinary offenses.

Students' Perceptions on Discipline

In each group interview session, students were asked to address the question of equality of treatment between whites and blacks as far as discipline is concerned. Questions and responses are listed below:

Group A - Five white students - Brookdale School

Interviewer - How about the rules in your school? Is there a set code of rules that you have to follow?

Student - We have a sheet that has the things that we should do and the things that we shouldn't do and we are working, getting together set rules but now they are really understood.

Interviewer - Who made the rules?

Student - Student council.

Interviewer - What do teachers, the principal or assistant principal do when somebody goes against those rules?

Student - In the classroom, if you disobey the rules, they have a discipline slip and then one copy goes to the office and one copy goes to the parents I think, I'm not sure. When you have three discipline slips, usually you are suspended.

Interviewer - Are there any groups of kids who get more slips than others?

Student - Yes.

Interviewer - Are they mostly black or white kids?

Student - It's divided. It depends on what's happening that day and how they feel.

Group B - Five black students - Brookdale School

Interviewer - When you look at troublemakers are they mostly black kids, white kids or can you tell?

Student - I can't tell. Most of the kids are black anyway.

Interviewer - Is there a difference in the way white teachers handle black troublemakers and white troublemakers?

Student - I can't tell, [illegible] only have one white teacher. They strict on everybody. If kids act up, they know where they are going (others concurred).

Group C - Eight black students - Belleville Junior High

Interviewer - Does your school have a set of rules for you to follow?

Student - Yes.

Interviewer - Are rules enforced for black kids and for white kids alike?

Student - When they make a rule they make it for everybody. But it depends on who is enforcing. Sometimes lots of blacks get away with stuff.

Group D - Seven white students - Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about the disciplinary procedures in this school? Are black and white students treated in the same manner?

Student - It depends on who is disciplining the student, but I think it's pretty much the same (other concurred).

Interviewer - Is there a set of rules to which each student is introduced?

Student - There are rules and most students know them. At least they know when they have broken one.

Attitudes Toward Opposite Race

Two forms of a Social Belief Inventory were administered to 62 students (15 whites and 47 blacks) in grades 8-12 during the team's on site visit to Orangeburg. Form A was administered to white students and Form B to black. Administrations took place in study halls whenever the team made a visit to a school, thus the population sampled was not necessarily representative of the total school population. The purpose of the inventory was to get still another measure of students' beliefs about and cognitions of members of the opposite race, with the hopes of determining how such beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race.

The inventory was a Likert-type scale which asked students to indicate their agreement with each of twenty-three items by checking Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree or Strongly Disagree. A frequency check was made to determine the number and percentage of students who responded on each item.

Tables 7-9 summarize items found on Form A, and Table 10-12 summarize those found on Form B. The choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree and Strongly Disagree were converted to values from one to five with one being Strongly Agree and five being Strongly Disagree.

After obtaining the frequency check for each item an attempt was made to determine which items in the inventory were highly related to each other. For this purpose the statistical technique of factor analysis was used. The purpose of factor analysis in this case would be to identify clusters of interrelated items in order to clarify the conceptual content of the questionnaire, and to aid in the removal of highly specific and uninformative items.

On the basis of the item intercorrelations a table of factor loadings was obtained using the conventional method of principal factor analysis (Tucker communality estimates, Kaiser's latent root one criterion for number of factors) followed by varimax and promax rotation.

The factor analysis is useful for identifying homogeneous subsets of items and can be regarded as a descriptive classification of the items on each instrument. In this case it resulted in the identification of seven factors on each form. Items which have high loadings on each factor can be expected to be highly related in terms of their observed correlations. On the basis of the promax factor loadings the factors which appear below were identified. Also a table of correlation among the items with loadings ± .30 is presented for each factor.

Form A

Factor I -- Belief in whites' knowledge and understanding of black culture, competence and mannerisms.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.78	9	Members of minority groups are not dependable.
.60	4	Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.
.51	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.
.43	7	Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.
.41	16	Most minority groups are angry.
.34	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor I

	9	4	22	7	16	12
9	-	-.73	-.13	-.48	.55	-.10
4	-.73	-	.33	.41	-.24	-.04
22	-.13	.33	-	-.06	-.07	.00
7	-.48	.41	-.14	-	-.38	-.25
16	.55	-.24	-.07	-.38	-	.13
12	-.10	-.04	.00	-.25	.50	-

Tables 7 and 8 give a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. For the purpose of this study those responses, listed in percentages, are reported in three categories: Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I -- Items -- Form A

9 Members of minority groups are not dependable.

	Male	Female
A	34	22
U	33	11
D	33	55

4 Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.

	Male	Female
A	50	77
U	33	11
D	17	0

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

	Male	Female
A	17	0
U	17	33
D	66	66

7 Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.

	Male	Female
A	17	66
U	33	22
D	50	0

16 Most minority groups are angry.

	Male	Female
A	50	33
U	50	33
D	0	22

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

A	83	90
U	17	0
D	0	0

Factor II - Belief in the overaggressiveness and exploitative tendencies of blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.88	11	Minority persons are trying to use whites.
-.87	15	Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.
.71	2	Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.
.53	18	All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors.
.48	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.43	16	Most minority groups are angry.

Item Intercorrelation -- Factor II

	11	15	2	18	23	16
11	-	-.52	.59	.50	.53	.50
15	-.52	-	-.36	-.10	-.41	.00
2	.58	-.36	-	.40	.32	.52
18	.50	-.10	.40	-	.02	.15
23	.53	-.41	.32	.02	-	.25
16	.50	.00	.52	.15	.25	-

The male-female responses for items in this factor were:

11 Minorities are trying to use whites.

	Male	Female
A	50	22
U	50	44
D	0	22

15 Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

A	33	33
U	33	44
D	33	11

2 Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

A	34	11
U	50	44
D	17	33

18 All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.

A	33	22
U	50	22
D	17	55

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

A	33	0
U	33	22
D	17	77

16 Most minority groups are angry.

A	50	33
U	50	33
D	0	22

Factor III - Displacement of whites' prejudice through explanation of class as the determinant of minority worth and desirability.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.82	7	Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.
.76	14	The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against blacks.
-.75	13	Minority groups want a responsible society.
.67	22	Black supervisor, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.
.47	5	Minority groups are oversensitive.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor III

	7	14	13	22	5
7	-	-.57	.69	-.14	-.10
14	-.57	-	-.60	.52	.43
13	.69	-.55	-	-.20	-.28
22	-.14	.52	-.20	-	.55
5	-.10	.43	-.28	.55	-

Male-female responses for items in this factor were:

7 Most minority groups can handle whites' honest behavior and feelings.

	Male	Female
A	66	66
U	33	22
D	0	0

14 The lower-class black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against blacks.

	Male	Female
A	66	11
U	17	44
D	17	33

13 Minority groups want a responsible society.

A	17	88
U	50	0
D	34	0

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

A	17	0
U	17	33
D	66	66

5 Minority groups are oversensitive.

A	34	11
U	33	56
D	34	33

Factor IV - Belief in the need, desire and value of blacks being a part of the white society.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.94	10	"Liberal" whites are free of racism.
.75	17	Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.
.59	18	All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors.
.51	5	Minority groups are oversensitive.
.50	1	Color is not important in individual relationships.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor IV

	10	17	18	5	1
10	-	.50	.41	.28	.52
17	.50	-	.26	.57	.38
18	.41	.26	-	.54	-.08
5	.28	.57	.54	-	.03
1	.52	.38	-.08	.03	-

Male-female responses were:

10 "Liberal" whites are free of racism.

	Male	Female
A	0	44
U	50	33
D	50	11

17 Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.

A	0	22
U	33	56
D	66	22

18 All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors.

A	33	22
U	50	22
D	17	55

5 Minority groups are over-sensitive.

A	34	11
U	33	56
D	34	33

1 Color is not important in individual relationships.

	Male	Female
A	50	78
U	17	22
D	33	0

Factor V - Belief in superiority of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.87	3	White society is superior to minority group societies.
.64	15	Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.
.42	17	Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.
.39	8	Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor V

	3	15	17	8
3	-	.27	.26	-.05
15	.27	-	.11	.14
17	.26	.11	-	.30
8	-.05	.14	.30	-

Male-female responses were:

3 White society is superior to minority group societies.

	Male	Female
A	17	11
U	33	22
D	50	55

15 Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

	Male	Female
A	33	33
U	33	44
D	33	11

17 Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.

A	0	22
U	33	56
D	66	22

8 Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.

A	66	77
U	33	11
D	0	0

Factor VI — Belief in the separation of the races.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.98	21	When blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.
-.67	4	Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.
.56	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.43	6	Minority groups must be controlled.
-.40	16	Most minority groups are angry.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor VI

	21	4	23	6	16
21	-	-.46	.48	.18	-.29
4	-.46	-	-.69	-.78	-.24
23	.48	-.69	-	.72	.25
6	.18	-.78	.72	-	.54
16	-.29	-.24	.25	.54	-

Male-female responses were:

21 When blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.

	Male	Female
A	50	22
U	33	44
D	17	33

4 Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.

A	50	77
U	33	11
D	17	0

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

A	33	0
U	33	22
D	17	77

6 Minority groups must be controlled.

A	50	11
U	50	22
D	0	55

16 Minority groups are angry.

	Male	Female
A	50	33
U	50	33
D	0	22

Factor VII - Belief in inferiority of blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.56	19	Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.48	18	All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors.
-.36	17	Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor VII

	19	18	17
19	-	.46	-.42
18	.46	-	.26
17	-.42	.26	-

Male-female responses were:

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	33	22
U	17	22
D	50	56

18 All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors

A	33	22
U	50	22
D	17	55

17 Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.

	Male	Female
A	0	22
U	33	56
D	66	22

Form B

Factor I - Belief in the racist tendencies in whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.83	3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.
.73	20	I may be part of the problem.
.64	18	All whites are alike.
.64	6	Whites must deal on minority group terms now.
.55	10	Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.
.43	16	All whites are racists.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor I

	3	20	18	6	10	16
3	-	.34	.64	.32	.31	.38
20	.34	-	.19	.27	.31	.19
18	.64	.19	-	.28	.17	.56
6	.32	.27	.28	-	.37	.31
10	.31	.31	.17	.37	-	.13
16	.38	.19	.56	.31	.13	-

Tables 10 and 11 show a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. As with the reporting of Form A results, responses are listed in percentages and are reported in three categories. Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I -- Items -- Form B

3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

	Male	Female
A	43	41
U	22	38
D	34	21

20 I may be part of the problem.

A	39	38
U	13	38
D	39	21

18 All whites are alike.

A	13	4
U	26	8
D	52	83

6 Whites must deal on minority terms now.

A	26	50
U	52	42
D	17	8

10 Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.

A	61	75
U	4	17
D	9	8

16 All whites are racists.

A	18	12
U	22	50
D	35	37

Factor II - Belief in the exploitative tendencies in whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.81	17	Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.
.79	9	Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.
.59	19	Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.54	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
.46	11	Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.
.42	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor II

	17	9	19	12	11	14
17	-	.44	.50	.16	.30	.23
9	.44	-	.32	.10	.49	.32
19	.50	.32	-	.11	.42	.30
12	.16	.10	.11	-	.07	.17
11	.30	.49	.42	.07	-	.07
14	.23	.32	.30	.17	.07	-

Male-female responses in items on Factor II were as follows:

17 Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	44	33
U	35	54
D	13	8.

9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

A	35	42
U	30	42
D	9	17

15 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	47	33
U	13	29
D	31	34

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

A	56	71
U	13	8
D	4	21

11 Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.

A	39	42
U	35	42
D	0	17

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

A	35	34
U	22	42
D	18	25

Factor III - Belief in interdependence of races.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.88	8	Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.
.59	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
.58	10	Discussion and cooperation and possible ways to achieve progress.
.41	6	Whites must deal on minority terms now.
-.37	21	Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor III

	8	12	10	6	21
8	-	.43	.41	.36	-.18
12	.43	-	.34	.11	.07
10	.41	.34	-	.37	-.03
6	.36	.11	.37	-	-.08
21	-.18	-.03	.07	-.08	-

Male-female responses were as follows:

8 Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.

	Male	Female
A	61	87
U	0	8
D	13	4

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

A	56	71
U	13	8
D	4	21

10 Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.

A	61	75
U	4	17
D	9	8

6 Whites must deal on minority terms now.

A	26	50
U	52	42
D	17	8

21 Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.

	Male	Female
A	8	12
U	22	8
D	61	75

Factor IV - Belief in the trustfulness and truthfulness of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.82	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.81	5	Whites are distrustful.
.41	3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor IV

	23	5	3
23	-	.57	.22
5	.57	-	.48
3	.22	.48	-

Male-female responses for Factor IV were as follows:

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

	Male	Female
A	18	25
U	26	8
D	48	62

5 Whites are distrustful.

A	22	33
U	30	29
D	34	37

3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

A	43	41
U	22	38
D	34	21

Factor V - Belief in whites' ability to aid the black cause.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.91	4	White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.
.66	7	Some whites can help and "do their own thing."
.57	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.
.40	15	Some whites have "soul."

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor V

	4	7	14	15
4	-	.41	.30	.33
7	.41	-	.23	.30
14	.30	.23	-	.07
15	.33	.30	.07	-

Male-female responses for Factor V were:

4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

	Male	Female
A	61	80
U	9	8
D	31	12

7 Some whites can help and "do their own thing."

	Male	Female
A	43	84
U	22	17
D	9	0

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

	Male	Female
A	35	24
U	22	42
D	18	25

15 Some whites have "soul."

	Male	Female
A	34	83
U	13	4
D	26	12

Factor VI - Belief in the need for white presence and the superiority of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.80	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
.65	15	Some whites have "soul."
.59	1	Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor VI

	13	15	1
13	-	.28	.40
15	.28	-	.22
1	.40	.22	-

Male-female responses for Factor VI were:

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

	Male	Female
A	21	30
U	35	50
D	18	21

15 Some whites have "soul."

A	34	83
U	13	4
D	26	12

1 Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	30	59
U	57	33
D	13	8

Factor VII - Belief in blacks' qualifications and ability to negotiate as well as understand the system.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.37	2	The best way to be seen is to be heard.
-.69	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.
.42	11	Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.
-.37	1	Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

Item Intercorrelations -- Factor VII

	2	22	11	1
2	-	-.21	.26	-.14
22	-.21	-	-.27	.22
11	.26	-.27	-	.06
1	-.14	.22	.06	-

Male-female responses for Factor VII were:

2 The best way to be seen is to be heard.

	Male	Female
A	69	42
U	9	25
D	22	33

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

A	61	55
U	17	33
D	13	8

11 Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	39	42
U	35	42
D	0	17

1 Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

A	30	59
U	57	33
D	13	8

Though both Forms A and B of the Social Belief Inventory provided useful and interesting information about the attitudes of students toward the opposite race, the writer chose not to draw from them conclusive statements about how students' beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race. Considering the unsystematic way the sample was drawn, the limited variables looked at, and the size of the sample, among other things, the writer felt it desirable to refrain from over generalizing from the data. Even so, it was interesting to note the compatability of responses between males and females for items in each factor, for both Forms A and B. The writer noted that responses for white males and females were quite compatible on most factors. There were items on which their responses varied considerably, e.g.,

Item 7 - Factor I - Males - 17% Agree - Females 66% Agree
Item 18 - Factor II - Males 17% Disagree - Females 55% Disagree
Item 23 - Factor II - Males 17% Disagree - Females 77% Disagree
Item 10 - Factor IV - Males 0% Agree - Females 44% Agree
Item 17 - Factor IV - Males 66% Disagree - Females 22% Disagree
Item 21 - Factor VI - Males 50% Agree - Females 22% Agree

The writer noted a difference in response patterns of males and of females at each grade level. Differences in the attitudes toward the opposite race between the sexes were more pronounced in grades 11 and 12 than in earlier grades.

As with white respondents, black males and females tended to answer items in a similar way, except for certain items within each factor, e.g.,

Item 18 - Factor I - Males 52% Disagree - Females 83% Disagree
Item 8 - Factor III - Males 61% Agree - Females 87% Agree
Item 7 - Factor V - Males 43% Agree - Females 84% Agree
Item 15 - Factor V - Males 34% Agree - Females 83% Agree
Item 1 - Factor VI - Males 30% Agree -Females 59% Agree

Though differences in the attitudes toward the opposite race, by black males and females, were also more pronounced at the upper grade levels, there tended to be more similarity in the way black students responded regardless of their grade level.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSES--PLAN, PROGRAMS, PRACTICES, PROCEDURES

A Summary of Orangeburg District No. 5's Plan

In late 1969 a class action suit filed with the U. S. Fourth-Circuit District Court requesting that it direct the Orangeburg District No. 5 to comply with previous court rulings to eliminate "now" dual school systems that were based upon race. In deliberating the case the Court found that the rate of integration that had occurred under freedom of choice was not adequate to meet the constitutional test as set forth in Green v. County Board of New Kent County, handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1969.

The Board of Trustees submitted a terminal desegregation plan to the courts for 1970-71 which featured geographical zoning. The plan, which was modeled after a neighborhood school plan, was modified by the courts but then accepted. This plan was immediately appealed. The appeal led to the submission of a clustering and pairing plan for 1971-72 which, according to the presiding judge, "establishes a unitary school system which will be in full compliance with any conceivable interpretation or construction which may place on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The courts and HEW were seemingly the architects of the district's plan. The judge's order for the first year of integration, following freedom of choice, contained a two-part approach: Part I concerned with detailed planning on the part of school personnel for proper implementation; and, Part II involving the pairing of teachers, and the advisory committees/human relations council approach to create opportunities for parents, teachers and students to be informed and involved. The major objectives of the phase in program were listed as being:

1. To prepare the community for accepting school desegregation with a more positive attitude.
2. To prepare educational personnel and students to function successfully in desegregated schools.
3. To provide administrators time for planning the reorganizational steps required in the plan.

Orangeburg District No. 5's current plan is a modification of the one implemented in 1971-72. The modification was requested by the district and allowed by the court. The features of the plan are:

1. Elementary Schools--The clustering of elementary schools into two zones, then pairing schools therein so that one school contains grades 1-2; one, grades 3-4; and one, grades 5-6.

2. Secondary Schools--One central seventh grade school, one junior high with grades 8-9, and one senior high school.

The district's plan did not result in the displacement of teachers. Rather, teachers were hired in proportion to the black/white ratio of the town. There were some changes in assignments of some black principals, from principal to assistant principal, at the onset of integration. The district has retained the services of four blacks out of nine in the principal's position.

Bussing was of minor significance as a variable in the Orangeburg plan. While it is true that there was some expansion to achieve integration, bussing was an established fact prior to the implementation of the current plan.

Orangeburg District No. 5 - A Comparative Desegregation Study Site

Orangeburg District No. 5 was selected as a participant in this project because it was identified from source data as a district that had distinguished itself for developing and implementing a desegregation plan that was comprehensive, successful, and conflict-free. The project's major purpose was to select districts that had been effective in their approach to breaking the bonds of segregation, and to identify and describe the processes that led to effectiveness or success.

Seven criteria, and accompanying indicators, were used in ultimately selecting participating districts. Orangeburg District No. 5 was matched against these criteria to determine how its plan, its programs, and its practices and procedures parallel. On the basis of observation and conversation, the following is an analysis of the match.

Criterion 1 Evidence that majority and minority students and staff are structurally integrated* into the social system of the school so both hold statuses and play roles that are equal in power and prestige.

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*Structural Integration (definition used by the California State Department of Education)--that situation in which staff members, children and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system that are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups.

C-1 Indicators--1. Composition of student body in each school - Each elementary school in the district has been paired to effect, to varying degrees, a black/white ratio -- currently 70%/30%. The black/white ratio in the elementary schools ranged from a low of 66%/34% to a high of 78%/22%. The black/white ratio for the seventh grade school was 73%/27%. No data were available on the junior high school but the high school's ratio was 72%/28%.

--2. Ethnic composition of staff in each school - The black/white ratio of staff in the elementary schools observed ranged from 60%/40% to 57%/43%. The seventh grade school's staff was 57%/43%. No data were available for the junior high school, but the senior high's staff was 53% black and 47% white. Four of the district's nine principals, or 44%, were bla[illegible]

--3. Distribution of majority/minority group students in each class - The court mandate which directed the district to desegregate was primarily concerned with the way students should be distributed across schools, not classes. During observations, the team noticed that classes at the elementary level came close to reflecting the black/white ratio of the district. This was made possible by the practice of heterogeneously grouping students across grades. The same was generally true at the seventh grade school, except for language arts where students were grouped according to ability. At the junior high and senior high schools the pattern was more varied. There were more designations of ability ranges through high level, average and low level classes. Students were said to have the opportunity to select their courses at the junior and senior high levels. In spite of the fact that whites are the ethnic minority at the senior high, they hold the majority status in high level courses, e.g., physics, college preparatory. A recent mandate by HEW has required the high school, and presumably other schools in the district, to break up racially identifiable classes where-ever they exist.

--4. Discipline--Students, teachers, principals and counselors interviewed indicated that discipline was uniformly administered.

--5. Integration of minority group students into organizations and activities of school--equal participation in a human relations workshop involving student leaders from the former black and former white schools met with teachers and administrators during the initial phases of desegregation to insure equal participation of students in organizations. However, as years have progressed organizations and activities have tended to be less equal in representation (see Tables 5 and 6). The writer heard of no current attempts being made to insure that there is equal participation.

--6. Patterns of student/student interaction - Students, regardless of their grade or academic level, were inclined toward interacting with others of their own race. There were reports that students at the elementary level relate well to "friends" of the opposite race. Such relationships were confined to the classroom or teacher controlled activities. There was very little, almost no interacting after school hours, including at school sponsored activities.

Criterion 2. Evidence that racial/cultural isolation has been reduced and is reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and nonacademic activities.

C-2 Indicators--1. (In addition to all of the above indicators) A sense of fellowship and mutual respect, as demonstrated by staff and student planning, exists - From observations and interviews it appeared that planning was retained as a function of teachers. Exceptions were found in programs that were individualized and required students and teachers to collaborate on the writing of prescriptions. In fairness to the teachers in the district, it must be mentioned here that the observations were not numerous enough for a firm determination to be made on the matter of the amount of student/teacher planning taking place.

--2. Evidence of avoidance of academic stereotyping - At the lower levels teachers were said to use the individualized approach to instruction to help avoid tracking or otherwise stereotyping of students. At the upper levels students supposedly self-selected courses, though such selection often resulted in the maintenance of disproportional representation of students by race in high and low level courses. There was no evidence that schools at the upper level were using any other methods to avoid stereotyping. The action of HEW seemed to suggest that stereotyping still exists.

--3. Evidence that teachers have the authority that enables them to work confidently and flexibly with students of varying abilities and talents--conversations with teachers revealed that they do have the opportunity to work freely and flexibly with their students.

Criterion 3. Evidence of mutual understanding and positive interaction between majority and minority students and staff.

C-3 Indicators--1. Schools' atmosphere - Though there doesn't appear to be a great deal of student/student interaction, there was no indication that the schools' atmosphere was anything but peaceful. No one who was interviewed could recall any racial conflicts that had occurred within the past two years.

--2. Students' attitudes toward school - Students interviewed tended to speak positively about their school and teachers.

--3. Counseling and guidance services - Both of these services were available to students regardless of race. The team found some expression of dissatisfaction on the part of high ability black students who suggested that some counselors discourage them from taking college prep and other high level courses.

Criterion 4. Evidence of curricular offerings and materials reflecting cultural diversity.

C-4 Indicators--1. Curriculum offerings related to minority experience or to majority/minority relations - In spite of the fact that blacks are in the majority in the district, relatively little has been done uniformly as far as the district's curriculum is concerned which relates to them. Most schools indicated that there were no special offerings related to the minority experience. Some exceptions were, one school recognizing M. L. King's birthday, one observing Black History Week and the high school offering as elective Afro-Asian History.

--2. Library volumes related to the minority experience or by minority group authors - The high school has a total of 10,000 volumes of which approximately 100 or 1% related to the minority experience. There are no films maintained in the school's library since they are available from the S. C. State Department of Education. There are reference volumes available that show the "contribution of ethnic groups." The library subscribes the following black periodicals: Ebony, Jet, Black World, Negro History Bulletin. The library contains recordings and filmstrips that relate to the minority experience, but the personnel were not sure about the numbers of each. The team only concentrated on the library at the high school.

--3. Evidence of varied instructional techniques designed to meet the different learning styles of students - The more conventional, lecture-type methods of presenting instruction were the mode for classes observed at the upper level. Though there were signs of the same being used at lower levels, there were also signs of teachers attempting to individualize instruction and use small skill group arrangements to more adequately address the learning styles and levels of students. Team teaching was said to exist especially at the lower level, but the team did not have an opportunity to observe how such was defined or implemented.

Criterion 5. Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

C-5 Indicators--1. Achievement data on students in school--From available score data on reading tests given by four elementary schools in 1972, the average score (reported in grade level equivalents) attained by blacks was from one year to nearly two years behind whites. For example:

	Score	
	Black	White
a. Grade 4 - Sheridan	2.7	4.8
b. Grade 4 - Whittaker	2.7	3.5
c. Grade 6 - Nix	4.6	6.9
d. Grade 6 - Rivelon	4.7	5.7

No other achievement data by race were available.

Criterion 6. Evidence of comprehensive efforts to develop and offer programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

C-6 Indicators--1. Evidence of use of Title I, ESAP or other funds to develop compensatory programs - There was much evidence that special funds were used to finance remedial and corrective programs, outreach type programs and health programs, as well as human relations and in-service types.

--2. Evidence of use of resources within and outside the school district to help devise programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity - The team learned that the Desegregation Center at the University of South Carolina was called on extensively during the early phases of desegregation. There didn't appear to be a reluctance to use needed resources whether inside or outside the district.

--3. Attempts at in-service training aimed at program development - In-service training was a major component of the district's desegregation plan. It was planned and implemented to a great degree with special funds.

Criterion 7. Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

C-7 Indicators--1. Existence of a citizen's committee, or advisory committee, to assist with desegration plans - A part of the court's dictate to the district was for it to establish a "biracial advisory committee to advise the local school officials on matters of desegregation," and for each school to establish human relations councils made up of teachers, parents and community leaders. This was done, as far as the team could determine.

--2. Evidence of biracial school committees (see Indicator 1)--The writer had an opportunity to observe a program sponsored by the parents' biracial advisory committee at the junior high school. It focused on "How to Help Your Child Get the Most Out of School." The program was well attended by white and black parents, and the twenty group sessions that were held were jointly shared and recorded by black and white parents, teachers and students.

--3. Evidence that parents and school community are kept informed about problems and success in the integration process - The school district has made extensive use of the local newspaper, The Times and Democrat, in keeping the community informed about the status of its plan. Additionally, the district publishes a news pamphlet which is disseminated to the families of all students periodically.

CHAPTER VII

"INTEGRATION" IN RETROSPECT

Some Concluding Observations

Jane Mercer, a Sociologist at the University of California at Riverside, California, uses in her studies of school district's desegregation a five stage policy model designed to determine where on the segregation to integration continuum a district falls. Since her model has implications for this paper it is briefly described below:

Stage 5 - Moving Toward Integration: Philosophic Stance--Equality of educational output, cultural pluralism.

Stage 4 - Comprehensive Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--Schools should have the same ethnic proportions as district population, students should have equality of educational opportunity--the latter defined in terms of input, same teachers, schools and texts.

Stage 3 - Token Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--District no longer denies responsibility to desegregate, it alters boundaries, builds new schools, moves toward open enrollment and uses as the underlying theme freedom of choice.

Stage 2 - De Facto Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--The Board of Education does not have the responsibility to change a pattern that it did not cause. The main theme is the neighborhood school.

Stage 1 - De Jure Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--It is not the legal responsibility of the Board to desegregate. The question is raised as to whether the responsibility belongs to the state or to the district.

In 1963, the year prior to the adoption of freedom of choice, Orangeburg District No. 5 was at Stage 1, a segregated district. Through a series of court orders the district has moved, in the opinion of the writer, to Stage 4. The impetus for the district's current position and plan came from the district court which ruled that the school district had to disestablish the dual system which continued to exist through 1970-71. The plan that was approved and implemented the following year, and for all practical purposes remains in effect today, "establishes a unitary system which will be in full compliance with any conceivable interpretation or construction which may place on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment," according to the judge who presided over the case. The court was assured of the ability of the plan to meet the challenges of the constitution because he built in certain specifications in his order that were to be addressed by the district, and he maintained jurisdiction over the case to see that said specifications were met.

Several crucial requirements for any workable and effective school desegregation program were found in Orangeburg, some of which were specified by the courts but some that were not. Four of the elements were (1) the thorough preparation of school staffs, students, parents, and the community for desegregation; (2) the establishment of good and clear channels of communication about the desegregation process; (3) the establishment of firm policies regarding desegregation and the clear enunciation of those policies and the Board of Trustees support for them; and (4) the provision of educational innovations designed to more adequately serve students in the district.

With the successful implementation of its desegregation program, the district adopted a philosophic stance and a framework of operation which resulted in the ethnic representation in each school approximating that of the total district. Without attempting to judge the effectiveness or quality of either, black and white students were given access to the same schools, teachers, and texts. With some qualifications they were given access to the same courses of study and the same school-related activities. These variables are consistent with Stage 4 of the Mercer Model.

When applying the Mercer Model to a desegregated situation, one must be careful not to assume that all segments of the community are at the same point of acceptance, thus on the same point on the continuum. It is not only possible but probable that the school district's administration and board of education could be of a different persuasion and at a different level of understanding and acceptance than parents, community persons or even teaching staff, because of the legal as well as professional obligation they have for all students within their domain. This seemed true in Orangeburg District No. 5. One indicator of the discrepancy between the position of the Board of Trustees and segments of the community was the defection of whites, or "white flight," from the public schools. In 1964 white students made up 52% of the district's population. In 1974 white enrollment is 30%. Private academies have flourished, and have not only attracted a goodly number of students but also white teachers who opted not to teach in the desegregated public schools.

In spite of the effectiveness with which the current plan was implemented, the team did not observe many kinds of activities, procedures and even attitudes that would catapult the district to Stage 5. While it is true that special funds have been used to finance corrective and remedial programs that would hopefully bring about more equality of educational output over the long haul, little was being done to make the schools reflect the cultural pluralistic nature of the environment.

Final Remarks

The data in this report were generated from formal and informal observations, and from structured and unstructured interviews. These data are not exhaustive, as they are collected by a team of six persons who made a three-day visit to Orangeburg District No. 5, Orangeburg, South Carolina, visiting five of the district's nine schools. Time and space constraints made it humanly impossible to capture and record every moment of the Orangeburg drama. However, the team attempted to extract the substance of all conversations and observations and to record them correctly and objectively with the hopes that the Orangeburg story might prove enlightening and beneficial to others.

III. SUMMARIES OF CASE STUDIES

Birmingham

When chartered in December 1871 Birmingham had a population of 1,000, today the population including the suburbs has soared to over 700,000. Birmingham is a major medical center of the South. Due to housing the eastern end of Birmingham has been predominantly white, while the center of the city and the western end are predominantly black. The City Council appoints the School Board in overlapping 5 year terms; In 1971 the Council had two black male and one white female members. By 1974 the progressive Council had appointed a liberal Board of three whites and two blacks; one black male was appointed to a second term and the first black female was appointed.

Their desegregation history began voluntarily in 1963. The 1963 plan was nullified by the District Court in 1967 when they ordered the Freedom of Choice plan; this plan lasted through the 1969-70 school year. There was a 900% jump in black enrollment in white schools from 1966-67 to 1967-68. During the first year of the plan the pupil count dropped by 1,231 (157 black); there is speculation that the 1,074 white students have moved to the suburbs, but there is no proof. The faculty movement, which was also voluntary, was faster with blacks moving to white schools than with whites going to black schools. At the end of freedom of choice half the schools had integrated student bodies and 90% of the faculties were integrated; thus, 90% of the students were being taught in schools with integrated faculties.

In 1969, the District Court held that the freedom of choice plan was inadequate for dismantling the dual system. It was suggested that Birmingham develop the new plan in collaboration with HEW. HEW designated the "Center for Assistance to School Systems with Problems Occasioned by Desegregation" at Auburn University as collaborator. An acceptable plan was submitted on December 30, 1969 which had been developed by the Center in cooperation with an eight member panel, representatives of the NAACP and the Justice Department. The plan dealt with student assignment, faculty and staff assignment, building and facility assignment, and school activities.

The plan for student assignment called for the closing of eight all black elementary schools, the remaining 76 being divided into attendance areas. One black high school was closed, the remaining thirteen being divided into attendance areas. Majority-minority right to transfer was dependent upon the capacity of the receiver school. High school students could request transfer to another school with a specific curriculum not available at the assigned high school.

Faculty and staff reassignment was planned to achieve 25 to 33.3% minority staff which has not yet been reached, but they are progressing. Improvement projects for buildings and facilities were planned for eighteen elementary schools and six high schools. The school activities were to remain but the plan called for the merger of similar groups to achieve greater racial balance.

Throughout the process decisions were handed down from the highest administrative level; there was no input from the community, staff or students. All information was released internally, no one had a sense of involvement. In an effort to prepare for desegregation, human relations workshops were held with Auburn University helping in the design and implementation. The first workshop was held for approximately 125 principals, supervisors and program directors and dealt with group techniques, potential problems and possible methods of dealing with problems. The second workshop was composed of about 500 staff members from the 89 schools who were designated as the School Leadership Group; it was their role to coordinate human relations programs at the building level. The third workshop was held for 100 students representing the thirteen high schools; they were to use what they learned to promote better inter-racial understanding at their schools. The final workshop was held for approximately 100 PTA members and officers whowere to work with the community and schools to help acceptance of change and to help plan strategies to ease the transition. The last human relations activity took place in August 1970, when each school conducted its own five-day program.

In 1974, 25% of the schools were not desegregated. The reason for this is twofold: first, the population is heavily black and the housing is still heavily segregated; second, there was never a school transportation system in Birmingham, so busing was never considered as a possibility. Inter-racial interaction is poor on all levels. Students interact when academics call for it; there are few extracurricular activities and most of those are racially imbalanced. Teachers interact professionally more than they did previously, but they have no social relations, in fact, in two schools, the faculty gradually established a black teachers lounge and a white teachers lounge. Despite the staff separation all the teachers seem to agree that the texts in use are highly out-dated. They also agree that there seems to be a relationship between the extent to which the books are outdated and the socioeconomic status of the student body--those from the poorest section have the oldest books and most decrepit facilities.

The Birmingham schools have come far since 1963, but they still have a distance to go. At the time of the site visit, 1974, a new Superintendent of Schools had just been appointed. He greatly impressed the research team with his insight and foresight; with cooperation, he could effectively initiate valid changes in programs, staff allocation and student assignment. The research team left Birmingham with feelings of optimism regarding the future of desegregated education in Birmingham.

Durham, N.C.

Durham is located in the Piedmont region of North Carolina. According to the 1970 census its population of 95,438 is 38.8% black. Among the large industries to be found in Durham are Liggett and Myers, Sperry Rand, General Electric and black owned and operated North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. Historically, Durham has been considered a progressive city, entrepreneurially, for blacks.

The city's greatest asset is its proximity to several universities. Duke University and North Carolina Central University, which is predominantly black, are both located within the city limits; the University of North Carolina is south of Durham at Chapel Hill and North Carolina State University is east of Durham at Raleigh. The two university teaching hospitals located in the city have made it the medical capital of the South.

The average citizen of Durham has completed twelve years of schooling and is earning approximately $8,300 per annum; in spite of this, 15% of the income producing families are below poverty level and 29% get public assistance income.

With the 1954 Brown decision, the black community began to agitate for change in the school system. In 1958, the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations tried to arrange meetings between the City School Board and blacks in the community but the Board refused. In August 1959, the Board held a special meeting at which it decided to integrate the junior and senior high schools. In 1962-63, there were 15,071 students distributed among twenty-five schools of which ten were all black and fifteen all white. In October 1965, the Board adopted a "Plan for Desegregation of the Durham City Schools" which it presented to the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina. The plan was a response to a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund against the Board; it abolished attendance zones and feeder schools and established a free choice system. The parent or guardian of each student filed an application listing three schools in order of preference; students were assigned to schools on a first come, first served basis. "Capacity" was determined in accordance with the maximum capacity permitted per classroom under the minimum standards for accreditation established by the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Parents or guardians could request a transfer for a student and decisions were made in a "non-discriminatory manner." In 1970, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund reopened the case and the judge ordered pairing of elementary schools; he did not require the schools to reflect the racial composition of the city--some schools would remain predominantly black and some predominantly white.

The desegregation plan itself was developed by the school administration (as representatives of the City School Board) and the District Court. The plan consisted of fourteen points, several of which deal with geographical attendance zones to be established for 1970-71 such that a more equitable racial mix would result. Points seven through nine provide for specific transfer possibilities, first, if a parent or guardiant chose to send a child to a school where he was in the minority, second, that mentally retarded and exceptional students could be assigned to special classes, and third, that the Superintendent and Board could agree to change a student's assignment in a proven hardship case. Point Ten permitted the Board to redefine the geography of the attendance zones to accommodate pupil allocation to facilities so long as the unitary nature of the school was not affected. Students from outside the Durham school district were no longer to attend Durham schools, nor were students from within the District to go outside to school. Faculty was to be reassigned to achieve an equal ratio in schools throughout the District. All facilities, programs and extra-curricular activities were to be equally available to all students at a given school.

This plan has been rendered unstable by the fluctuations in enrollment and the loss of students. 1971-72 and 1972-73 figures for enrollment in the district showed decreases of slightly less than 1,000 pupils per year and a 3% increase in the proportion of blacks in 1971-72 and a 6% increase in the proportion of black pupils in the 1972-73 school year.

There is very little written information on preliminary preparation for the plan in the community or on the processes used because the administration "was too busy with implementation to write down what was happening." The local press reported the plan and the editorial column became a forum for public expression. Fourteen of the twenty-four teachers spoke of human relations workshops planned with the help of "strategic" teachers from the various schools. Neither teachers nor counselors were involved in the planning and preparation for integration. A school "Charrette" which provided the opportunity for community and administrators to exchange ideas proved to be a cathartic experience during the first year--the Board did not follow any of the recommendations. The teacher ratio is 53% white, 47% black, the same as it was in 1969-70, but the student population is now 70% black, 30% white.

Other changes indicated are: 1) in 1969-70 the district had two (2) assistant superintendents, both of whom were white; currently there is one black assistant superintendent and one white; 2) the total number of white supervisors decreased by three while there was a corresponding increase of four (4) in blacks. Blacks and whites increased in numbers at the central staff level, but there was a larger percentage increase in blacks. There was a 15% increase of black clerical staff in the district as compared to a 15% decrease in whites. What was a 52% white/48% black ratio in principalships in 1969-70 reversed itself to become 52% black/48% white. The same happened with vice principals with the current ratio being 44% white/56% black.

In the six elementary schools which were paired, teachers said the only curriculum change they were conscious of was the appearance of multi-level materials. On the secondary level, the addition of black studies courses and the change of vocational class time blocks from three to one and two hours were major changes; the reason for the latter was to increase the appeal to all levels of students. Although a May 1972 newspaper article spoke of tracking as pushing all blacks into vocational classes, interviews with staff and students reflected a different picture. The indication was that heterogeneous grouping existed on the elementary and junior high level while high school students felt that they had made their own choices and were generally satisfied. Extra-curricular activities remained unchanged except in one junior high where modern dance and "sockhops" were discontinued. There was a consensus that discipline was equal at all schools except Durham High, where it was felt that blacks were treated poorly.

The team that visited Durham interviewed the principals, counselors and teachers to elicit perceptions of reasons for concern and perceptions of attitudes. With regard to faculty and staff concerns, there was a fear of leaving old schools; blacks were concerned with whites' attitudes of superiority and whites' inability to accept blacks; whites feared disciplining black students and teaching different kinds of students. With regard to parent and community, whites feared inter-racial dating, harsh disciplinary methods, lowering of quality of education and busing; blacks feared unfair treatment, closing of black schools and busing. Both principals and teachers perceived student interaction similarly. On the elementary school level, there seems to be little interaction where students are bused and a free interaction when they walk; teachers said that they saw interaction across racial lines during school but not after.

The prior high school pattern reflected a mingling before school; Carr Junior High is beginning to show signs of mingling after school. Observers of Whitted Junior High felt that the neighborhood patterns and busing prevent after school contact. At the high school level there was little mingling during school and none after, again attributed to the neighborhood friendship patterns. The pattern seen in the student population was also reflected among the teachers; there was some mingling during school hours but none after work.

The Board in Durham showed an awareness of the limitations of the plan for dealing with the problem of desegregation when, in 1971, they proposed still another desegregation plan. The revised plan called for more even distribution of the white population throughout the school system, tripling the number of students bused and several other major changes. When the community learned of the plan, the Board and the plan were severely criticized. The Board reacted by withdrawing the plan from consideration. It appears that until the community itself becomes interested in greater change, the school system in Durham will remain as it is, desegregated, but not so fully integrated as it might be.

Ewing Township, N.J.

Ewing Township was formed by an Act of the New Jersey State Legislature in 1834. Settled circa 1700, the citizens were mainly English and Scottish immigrants. Prior to 1930, Ewing was highly agricultural and its population grew very slowly; then, with the emergence of Trenton as an industrial and business center, Ewing became an important suburb for businessmen not wishing to live in Trenton. The 1970 census listed a population of 32,831, the majority of whom are home owners.

In November 1969, the Office of Equal Educational Opportunity of the New Jersey Department of Education notified the Ewing Board of Education that its schools were racially imbalanced and, if not corrected, the district would lose approximately one million dollars in State and Federal funds. In Spring 1971, the Ewing Board of Education Newsletter published the three reasons for which the Township reorganized its schools: 1) to improve education, 2) to achieve better racial balance, and 3) to eliminate overcrowding.

In December 1969, there had been a racial disturbance which caused the high school to be closed for two days. In January 1970, a Citizens Advisory Committee with 65 members from every local organization; their mandate was to make recommendations to the Board regarding identification of problem areas in race relations and examination of the racial imbalance existing in some of the schools. The Committee had good representation from civic, social, teacher and student groups; the main group was broken down to three subcommitees to facilitate management of the study (1. Curriculum, 2. Students, Faculty and Administrative Feelings, 3. Racial Imbalance).

The Curriculum Committee submitted its suggestions in September 1970: 1) increase library facilities and staff in elementary schools; 2) expand black studies to all grade levels as part of established history and social studies programs; 3) improve high school guidance for black students. A questionnaire circulated in April 1970, by the Student, Faculty and Administration Committee yielded three major complaints by the students: 1) no definite steps had been taken to ease racial tensions (67% black and 61% white response); 2) blacks felt there was a lack of black teachers, a lack of black-oriented courses, prejudiced administration and teachers; whites expressed dissatisfaction with an apathetic school administration and student body, and a lack of freedom; both black and white students felt that school personnel had no interest in them as individuals; 3) nearly 80% of the students in each school opted for black history as an integral part of other courses in history.

The Racial Imbalance Subcommittee completed its work in July 1970 and submitted six recommendations, three of which were accepted. The Board liked the idea of a middle school, a central school and pairing of the elementary schools. With reorganization, the seven elementary schools were maintained, but they went only from K-5, a middle school housed grades 6-7, a central junior high grades 8-9, and a high school grades 10-12. Rather than pairing the elementary schools, the Ewing Board of Education contracted with the Illinois Institute of Technology of Chicago to assist in the redistricting efforts at the elementary level; a racial balance standard of not less than 18% non-white enrollment and no more than 23% was to be established for each school.

While these committees were researching their assigned areas, there was a concerted effort in progress to inform the community of the impending reorganization. The 1971 Spring issue of the "Ewing Township Board of Education News," the official school district newsletter, was entirely devoted to the whys of the reorganization and the referendum. (The latter was a $150,000 move for the improvement of existing facilities and the purchase of relocatable classrooms.) The Greater Council of Churches sponsored a thirty-minute discussion of the reorganization and referendum on WTTM, a local radio station. The local press gave the details of the reorganization and referendum and gave editorial support to both. The most effective means of communicating with the public were the "coffee klatches" held by each of the 65 members of the Citizens Advisory Committee; each member was to invite twenty guests to a morning coffee party where literature was available and discussions would be held, each of the twenty guests then obliged to contact five other community members and explain to them. A "rumor phone" was also established so that parents and interested community people could get accurate answers to questions before rumors spread.

As a result of the efforts at community involvement, fifty thousand dollars of the $150,000 bond issue was designated for improving existing elementary school libraries. Black studies were incorporated into the regular social studies course material in both elementary and secondary schools in 1970. A black counselor was hired for the high school. The reapportionment of the students to different grade combinations permitted the sixth graders access to new programs in sports, hobbbies and special academic programs.

In the area of staff integration, there were problems. One of the black vice principals confirmed that he had had negligible success in interesting prospective black teachers to come to Ewing and, if successful, it is hard to keep them because they are attracted to graduate study and jobs with higher positions and better pay.

Observation and conversations with students and staff indicated that even after reorganization there were a disproportionate number of non-white eighth and ninth graders in the "below average" and the "slow" classes. The high school showed a disproportionate number of whites in the advanced mathematics and science courses and a disporportionate number of blacks in the "average" classes.

Extra-curricular activities had a sprinkling of non-white participants in all activities except the newspaper. In sports, there is a tendency for the non-whites to participate more readily in the "conventional" or "more traditional" sports, but, even so, there is still minimal participation. In an effort to encourage the students to interact more freely, the middle school has twenty-five clubs which run during the three lunch hours; students may participate in a maximum of four clubs per year. The middle school principal and teachers felt that there was good interaction between the races in the lunchroom, libraries, hallways, and so forth. The junior and senior high faculty, however, found that there was a definite clustering of blacks with blacks and whites with whites. Some parents felt that the reason for this behavior was that with increase in age there was increase in peer pressure to "stay with your own kind." The teachers themselves admit to purely "in-school relationships" with no socializing during their time off. The criticism made by one of the parents interviewed was that change had to come beginning at the administrative level: "You can desegregate physically but what about the attitudes of the teachers . . . ."

One of the outstanding features of the Ewing system is the uniformity of disciplinary actions. There is a Discipline Guide which is printed for the middle school, junior and senior high schools. This guide explicitly dictates the rules and the punishments for infractions thereof. All students agree that there is equally strict discipline for all, no one gets preferential treatment.

Some of the key factors in the success of the reorganization were cited by counselors and teachers. There was preparation by summer workshops; the attitudes of the individual principals were very important; close faculty relations; community cooperation; good contact and communication with the public; the hard work of the superintendent. The method used to integrate was presented palateably; busing was already in existence, they simply altered the routes. The problem with over-crowding was dealt with by purchasing movable classrooms which still permitted existing structures to be utilized.

The outstanding problem which continues to exist today is the lack of minority staff. In spite of the difficulty in recruiting minority teachers and administrators, they do exist and it will be necessary for Ewing to find a method of attracting them.

GOLDSBORO, N.C.

Goldsboro, North Carolina, is located fifty miles southeast of Raleigh, the state capital. Incorporated in 1847, it is the county seat of Wayne County, which, in turn, is the center of a sixteen county group representing the largest grain producing area east of the Mississippi River. The main crop is tobacco, followed by corn, potatoes, green beans, wheat and soy beans. Although there is light industry, Seymour Johnson Air Force Base is the largest single employer in the county. Due to Goldsboro's location, at the intersection of major highways and its easy accessibility to two railroads, the city is developing into a large wholesale distribution center.

The 1970 census report showed the black population as 49%, an 8% increase from the 1960 figures; the 18.2% decrease in the white population resulted in a 7% total population drop. An analysis of the figures reveals that there has been a population shift which resulted in whites moving to outlying county areas and blacks moving to the city. Since there is segregated housing in Goldsboro, there is little social interaction between the races.

In May, 1965, the Goldsboro City Board of Education adopted a "freedom of choice" plan for students in grades one, seven, nine and twelve. This plan permitted students to select a school which they wanted to attend; it was extended to include grades K-12 over the next two academic years. In October, 1969, the Supreme Court's Alexander Decision demanded immediate desegregation of school districts. Prior to that ruling, Lloyd Henderson, Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare stated that the Goldsboro School System would be found in non-compliance with the requirements set forth under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 unless the dual school system was dismantled.

In February of 1970, Leon E. Panetta, Director of the Office for Civil Rights notified the Goldsboro City System that it was not in compliance with Title VI and was on a deferred list which blocked reception of any new federal funds. The Board set a target date of September, 1970, for the desegregation of all elementary schools in the district. During April, 1971, the Board adopted a plan which was acceptable to federal officials. By September, 1972, through total school and staff reorganization, the Goldsboro City School system had completely desegregated its schools and achieved a unitary system. With the reorganization, Goldsboro was once again eligible for receipt of federal funds.

In an effort to move toward desegregation, it was necessary to totally rearrange the school and staff allocation. The nine schools in the system were assigned specific grades, two housed grades 1 and 2, one grades 1, 2, 3, one grades 3, 4, one grade 5, one grades 6, 7, one grades 7,8, one grade 9, and one grades 10, 11, 12. The teaching staff was redistributed, with changes in grade level where there were requests and openings; since there were group transfers, there was less objection than anticipated.

A 30-member Citizen Advisory Committee, representing a cross-section of different groups and backgrounds, was formed to explore problems and concerns and to make viable recommendations reflective of the total community. The Committee actively supported the plans, interpreting them to various groups within the community. Churches provided forums for discussion and debate. The local media were kept fully informed during the desegregation process; the city newspaper and one local radio station were particularly supportive during the transition.

Human relations workshops were offered for staff members under the auspices of St. Augustines College in Raleigh and North Carolina State University. These voluntary workshops which began in 1968-69 and continued through 1969-70 had 50% staff participation. Desegregation plans were fully discussed at staff meetings in each school: though some staff left the system or retired, there was no mass exodus. Separate Human Relations Workshops were held for students, administrators, and teachers; on-site visits were made to schools. All segments of the community had the opportunity to express personal views. Everyone took part in the process. Departmental meetings were held across school lines since it was important to know what everyone else was doing in the same area. These meetings proved valuable as opportunities for interaction among staff.

The initial apprehension which manifested itself differently in each population segment has gradually dissipated. Both teachers and parents had fears alleviated when a study of student achievement before and after two years of integration showed that scores on the Stanford Achievement Test (1964 edition) indicated above average growth in both races; these tests were compared to national norms at five different intervals in the students' school life. A second study at second and then third grade level of a group of students also showed a positive rate of growth. The students have learned that white kids are not all geniuses and black kids are not all violent. The parents have discovered that parenthood breeds the same concerns, regardless of race. The teachers have found that they have more reasonable supplies and schedules; the drive across town is an inconvenience, but it is no longer frightening to drive through "certain neighborhoods." The experience taught the citizens of Goldsboro that they could work together and achieve common goals: workshops on teacher attitude, philosophy and technique promoted mutual understanding and respect among staff as they discussed individual concerns and shared ways of handling them in the classroom.

In spite of the success of the initial stages of desegregation there are areas which have been neglected and ought not be ignored. The most crucial area of concern is the lack of a multi-ethnic curriculum. There are some courses offered which deal with ethnic topics, but there is a lack of ethnic consciousness. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be a conscious effort to initiate change in this area even on the elementary level, where it is most important.

There is still social segregation among the students. This is partially the fault of busing; a student can remain after school only if someone will pick him up or if he lives in the vicinity. There is almost no mingling between races in the cafeteria or during breaks. Student explanation of that fact was that one just naturally spends lunch with one's best friends and there are no hostilities. There was a pervasive feeling that there were less racial tensions among the younger students because they had started integrated classes right from the first grade and did not share the insecurities and fears of their older brothers and sisters.

Homogeneous ability grouping in mathematics, science and English have perpetuated all black and all white classes. There is a noticeable tendency for black students to take the less demanding subjects and it is difficult to determine whether that stems from teacher recommendation or choice. School activities tend to be predominantly one race or the other. There is enforced equality on the cheerleading squad, which, by mandate, is six black and six white; thereby the accusation that it is unfair--it should be based on ability not race.

There is a continual emphasis in concerned community groups on finding ways to narrow the gap in academic achievement which exists between black and white youngsters. The original fears of incompatibility have proven invalid, and there is hope that greater parity can be achieved through more concentrated efforts in the elementary schools. There is still concern about academic standards voiced by white parents who feel that their children have not progressed at the anticipated rate, but rather are "going backward." But, on the whole, there are positive feelings within the community regarding the Goldsboro schools. Both black and white parents feel that integration of the schools is an important step in preparing their children to function in a world which is composed of many races.

Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minnesota is a major metropolis located 350 miles northwest of Chicago. It covers an area of 58 square miles and with adjacent St. Paul comprises the "Twin Cities." There are large corporations, manufacturing plants, insurance companies, banks and investment firms which have their headquarters in the city. Minneapolis is also an established cultural center, accommodating the University of Minnesota and several private colleges and seminaries; the Minnesota Symphony, the Tyrone Guthrie Theater, the Walker Art Center and the Minneapolis Institute of Art, offer opportunities for entertainment and cultural enrichment. The lakes and parks of the city provide the sports activi sts with room for exercise, and the professional hockey, baseball and football teams provide the sports passivists with ample armchair athletics.

The population of Minneapolis was 434,000 according to the 1970 census report. The black American population numbered 19,005, the Native Americans 5,829, and other minority groups 2,197, with the highest concentration of minority population being in the northern and southern ends of the city. In an attempt at voluntary desegregation, an Urban Transfer Program was implemented in 1967, and in December of 1967 the first set of Human Relations Guidelines was adopted by the Minneapolis Board of Education.

In February 1972 legal suit was filed by the parents of three children in the Minneapolis schools. It was a class action on behalf of "all children who are residents of Minneapolis and who attend its public schools," stating that a continuous and intensified pattern of segregation existed within the public schools as a result of a neighborhood school system in a city with racial discrimination in housing and as a result of certain "specific acts" which the district knew or should have known would promote segregation.

In May 1972, the court ordered the district to implement its own plan with two modifications: 1) that no more than 35% of the student body of any one school shall consist of minority children; 2) that there shall be at least one minority teacher in each elementary school (considering principals and assistant principals as teachers) and integration of the secondary school faculty so that each school has approximately the same proportion of minority to majority teachers as exist in the whole system. In addition, there were to be no transfers which would effectively increase segregation at either the sending or receiving school nor was there to be any alteration to existing school structures or construction of new facilities without court approval. The district was required to submit semi-annual reports to the Court and plaintiff's counsel until ordered otherwise.

The basic plan called for two phases. In Phase I, which was to take place from 1972 to 1975, there was to be extensive work with staff and personnel in human relations training and there was to be school construction. Phase II, to have major impact in Autumn 1973, called for the movement of students to new schools, especially on the secondary level. The goals for the elementary schools were to eliminate the maximum number of racially isolated schools and to replace the maximum number of old, obsolete buildings. The method proposed was the clustering and pairing of schools and the establishment of learning centers and extended community schools. The secondary schools were to be altered by creating four year high schools and two year junior high schools by moving the ninth grade from the junior high to the high school; there was also to be a check on boundary lines to alleviate over-crowding.

The first semi-annual report was submitted to the court in December 1972. The district was found to be in violation of the court order on four points and in May 1973, Judge Larson handed down a decision on all four points. In essence the court was willing to give the district the full allotted time rather than ruling on the projection; the court did invalidate certain transfers which had been planned and required that future reports contain statistical data relevant to transfers with details on numbers of transfers granted and denied broken down by race, school to be transferred to and school to be transferred from. There was concern that there be the same proportion of minority teachers to majority teachers in a school as there are in the district, on the secondary level, and that there not be two minority teachers in any elementary school before there is one teacher in each; the court further stipulated that the plan for faculty integration was to be completed by the opening of the 1973-74 school year.

The main thrust of the desegregation program was aimed at reworking the curriculum in all areas, with special emphasis on social studies; school clusters were established to more equally distribute the student population; a mechanism was established to more equitably process requests for transfer. Publicity was continued to urge that transfer requests be voluntary methods of the concerned community to promote racial balance.

Throughout the desegregation process, wide use was made of the several arms of the news media. Radio, television and newspapers all disseminated information pertinent to the progress of the project. The media were helpful in allaying major fears of increased costs and loss of federal funds for special developmental skills programs. The use of community people as school aides added to the credibility of the media reports. They acted as links between their neighbors and the schools; their relationships with the students also helped community and school to better understand where there were problems and what student sentiment was.

The team which visited Minneapolis felt that there was great potential for success in that community. The people of the community have accepted the presence of desegregation and its permanence; those who were opposed to the plan at the outset are being less vocal about their reservations and are doing what they can to help. There is still a lack of staff or student interaction in the schools, but, there is optimism that this situation will change with time. The only point which is still facing opposition is the "stage" nature of the plan; those who were involved in the "first wave" resent that the "second wave" had an ex-year of comfort.

An important criticism made by the observers is that there is a lack of planned strategy to promote greater interaction among the various segments of the school community. There is a clear need for a higher degree of personalization. It is important for the teachers to know the transfer students by name; the minority students should know who the minority group teachers are and where they can be reached; there should be greater student involvement in academic planning--if the students contribute, they will have a personal stake in the success of the program and they will also get to know some of the teachers on a different basis.

The overall feeling was that the Minneapolis desegregation plan is going well. There is a concerted effort to correct errors of the past and avoid them in the future.

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA SUMMARY

Orangeburg is the county seat located in the midlands of South Carolina. Settled in 1704, it played an important part in the American Revolution. Predominantly an agricultural area, the 1940's brought light industry. The 1972 census showed a population of 13,252. Orangeburg houses three colleges: Southern Methodist College, Claflin, and South Carolina State College. The latter two are predominantly black and are responsible for the sizable black middle class and student population of the city. The 1968 "Orangeburg Massacre" in which three students were killed and twenty were wounded by State Troopers took place at South Carolina State.

The Orangeburg School District did not develop a single plan for integration. What exists today is the result of many different plans and programs. In 1964, Orangeburg instituted a "freedom of choice" plan which remained in effect until 1969 when the Supreme Court ruled on Green versus County Board of New Kent County. At this time the Board of Trustees submitted a terminal desegregation plan for 1970-1971. The initiators of the original plan were the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the courts. A 1970-71 judge's order required implementation of the two part approach outlined by HEW. Phase I consisted of three parts: 1) all administrators were to participate in a minimum of 20 hours of leadership training with a focus on school desegregation; 2) a minimum of two teachers per school were to participate in at least 20 hours of training in school desegregation; 3) school administrative staff were to arrange pre-school orientations which focussed on problems of desegregation. Phase II was five-pronged: 1) a bi-racial advisory committee on desegregation matters was to be established to counsel local school officials; 2) each school was to establish human relations councils which would interact at least six times each year with a school of the opposite race. Once council was to be composed of teachers, parents and community leaders, the other was to consist of secondary level students; both councils were to develop projects, discuss and analyze problems and review the progress of school desegregation; 3) faculties of the schools were to be organized in pairs (one black and one white) and teachers were to meet in groups as well as by grades or subjects with the mandate of planning and carrying out cooperative activities; 4) teachers in like grades or subjects were to work cooperatively, planning together and exchanging positions for part of a day or a whole day; 5) administrators were to meet regularly and plan in detail the extensive reorganization necessary for implementation of the plan for 1970-71. In addition to these requirements, the actual plan proposed by the Board of Trustees featured geographical zoning; the plan was accepted with modifications.

Similar to a neighborhood school plan, students were required to attend schools in the zones where their parents lived; transfer was permitted where space was available if the student was going from a school in which he/she was in the majority to one where he/she was in the minority, or from a school where he/she was in the minority to another school where he/she was in the minority. Teaching schedules were arranged such that each elementary school student came in contact with one black and one white teacher for part of each day. Transportation was provided for any child in the district living 1.5 miles or more from his/her assigned school. This plan was appealed almost as soon as it was accepted.

The result of the appeal was the following: 1) the two junior high schools and the two high schools were paired to achieve an enrollment which was 60% black and 40% white; 2) the elementary schools were clustered into three attendance zones: I=60% black, 40% white, II=63% black, 37% white, and III=67% black, 33% white; 3) faculty assignments were made to reflect the pupil ratio in a given district; 4) there was a merger of athletic teams, bands et al due to the pairing; 5) appointments of coaches and other group leaders was made on a non-discriminatory basis with consideration being given to qualification and the personal desires of coaches and directors.

The 1971-1972 plan had two junior high schools, each a single graded central school. There were two high schools, one housing grades nine and ten and the other grades eleven and twelve. Elementary school zones I and II had clusters with one school for grades 1-2, one for grades 3-4, and one for grades 5-6; Zone III had one school for grades 1-6. By the end of the second year Zone I showed a 10% increase in black enrollment and a 10% decrease in white enrollment while Zone III became 70% black to 30% white. In the interest of obeying the mandate, all the students and staff of Zone III were relocated to Zone I without causing a change in the racial composition of the student population. The old plan had called for students to attend four schools in the course of six years of secondary education; by establishing one grade seven school, one school for grades 8-9, and one for grades 10-12, they were able to reduce the number to three. In July, 1972, the new plan was approved for the years 1972-73 and 1973-74.

In 1970-71, the judge had ordered publication of the plan in the local newspapers. The article was reprinted in leaflets which were sent to each home with the idea that the greater the dissemination of knowledge, the greater the possibility of avoiding disruption when the plan was implemented. When the new plan was developed for 1971-72, it, too, was published and explained in the newpapers and was accomplished by a letter of support from the Trustees.

In addition to the use of the newspaper to prepare the community for desegregation, teachers attended a four day Leadership Planning Institute with consultants from the University of South Carolina Desegregation Consulting Center. The primary concerns which they voiced were 1) the maintenance of high quality education, 2) disciplining children of other races, 3) breaking up professional acquaintances of long standing, 4) parent acceptance and community understanding and support. The teachers had in no way been involved in the development of the plan.

Student preparation and involvement in the desegregation plan began in December, 1970, with a one and a half day Human Relations Conference which was attended by 91 specially selected students. Student response was positive. By the time of the March, 1972 Conference, they cited as evidence of personal growth and maturity such things as 1) their development of the ability to listen to and respect others' opinions; 2) their new found ability to talk freely and discuss prejudice openly, thus providing an opportunity to understand one another; 3) their developing awareness that individuals often imagine a problem, (i.e., white misunderstanding of black hostility toward the confederate flag and black misunderstanding of white feelings toward the clenched fist salute). At the three day workshop ordered by the Court in July, 1971, the students were responsible for identification of the problems to be discussed by the group which was composed of forty student leaders from both high schools, faculty, administrators and community representatives.

In order to prepare the community the Board held parent/teacher meetings to explain the situation as it related to the District Court Order. This resulted in neighborhood meetings across the city. The outgrowth was three factions: 1) those who were unalterably disapproving, 2) those who were unsure which course of action was feasible; 3) those who wanted to seek legal counsel for reconsideration of the court mandate under constitutional guidelines. The second group was the largest and the third group established an organization called "Help Orangeburg Public Education" HOPE). HOPE wanted to legally change the zoning plan for "pairing" or some alternative plan which would bring better balance to the schools. The zoning plan had loopholes which permitted whites to change their legal residences. It was their feeling that such an action would prevent "white flight" and keep local businesses from being hurt. In the spring of 1970, a forty-member district-wide committee which reflected the socio-economic and racial diversity of the area was approved by the Board; an ESAP committee was established to deal with federal funding. By fall, 1971, a Community Involvement Coordinator had been hired to recruit, orient and maintain contact with 85 volunteers (25% black) who were working one day per week. In an effort aimed specifically at the Businessmen and Education-Business Day Tour was held in March, 1971. The local business community was given a tour of one of the new schools and had any questions answered.

In the schools themselves, there was a movement in favor of team teaching. The elementary schools had a "continuous Progress" plan which encouraged individualization and movement within subjects dependent solely upon readiness; each school was autonomous. With team teaching it was possible to note individual learning styles and help individual children. Students were also exposed to a variety of teaching styles. Since there were only two grades per school, team teachers were able to be located close to one another to provide greater ease of movement for the students.

The seventh grade school principal said that the only change he saw was the addition of supplementary courses to the curriculum. The junior high school principal reported no changes but said that the staff was looking more closely for ways to individualize. The high school principal spoke of two programs which had been introduced: 1) Cooperative Operation for Personal Effectiveness (COPE) was team taught by a black and a white teacher to help potential drop-outs succeed in subject matter areas and improve their attitudes toward themselves and toward school; 2) a developmental corrective reading program. The actual staffing within the schools reflects the black/white ratio of the district; the assistant principal is always the opposite race of the principal (except in the high school where there are two assistant principals). Students are assigned homogeneously to classes, but the 1964 ratio of 52% white to 48% black has shifted to 70% black to 30% white. Blacks are generally represented in greater numbers in athletics and other extra-curricular activities than the proportion of the school population would lead one to expect

The social patterns in the schools were that the elementary school children were grouped by sex rather than race; the seventh graders socialized to some extent, but busing prevented anything outside of school hours; the junior high students were not interacting much, but the number was increasing due to "Youth for Christ;" the high school students said that there was interaction during school and some telephoning but no visiting or socializing after school. The teachers at the elementary level had good working relationships but no contact after school, but the seventh grade teachers had no interaction at all. Parents interviewed felt that the students interacted well, but that they don't socialize because "the town is still segregated."

In the opinion of the observers, several crucial requirements for any workable and effective school desegregation program were found in Orangeburg; some of these were specified by the courts but some were not. Four of the elements were: (1) the thorough preparation of school staffs, students, parents, and the community for desegregation; (2) the establishment of good and clear channels of communication about the desegregation process; (3) the establishment of firm policies regarding desegregation and the clear enunciation of those policies and the Board of Trustees support for it; and, (4) the provision of educational innovations designed to more adequately serve students in the district. The students have access to the same schools, teachers, and texts, regardless of their race. With some qualifications they also have equal access to courses of study and extra-curricular activities. It is, however, necessary to note the flourishing "white academies" which are at variance with the stance of the Trustees. While it is true that special funds have been used to finance corrective and remedial programs that would hopefully bring about more equality of educational output over the long haul, little was being done to make the schools reflect the cultural pluralistic nature of the environment. Thus, the team does not see the necessary impetus developing for the move from a desegregated setting to an integrated setting in the immediate future.